DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 379 178 SO 024 100

AUTHOR	Hadler, Sandra
TITLE	Turkey: Women in Development. A World Bank Country Study.
INSTITUTION	World Bank, Washington, D. C.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-8213-2375-X; ISSN-0253-2123
PUB DATE	93
NOTE	236p.
AVAILABLE FROM	World Bank, 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20433.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Research/Technical (143)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Area Studies; *Demography; *Economic Development; Educational Policy; Elementary Secondary Education; *Females; Foreign Countries; Higher Education; *Human Geography; Public Health; *Social Change; Social Science Research; *Social Services
IDENTIFIERS	*Turkey

ABSTRACT

This report is intended to serve as the basis of the World Bank's support to the government of Turkey in the implementation of its policies to enhance the participation of women in the economic development process. The report provides background information on the situation of women in Turkey, including legal and health issues, and examines government strategies to incorporate women into national policies and programs. The main focus of the report is on increasing and raising the quality of women's participation in the labor force. To this end, the report gives particular attention to enhancing women's labor skills and income earning potential through education, technical training, and credit; and to opening their access to higher paying jobs in industry and agriculture. Turkey can benefit significantly in terms of increased productivity, enhanced family welfare, and reduced population growth by focusing more on the development potential of its women. The report advances three general propositions: (1) investments in women will promote economic development. Because of the critical role women play in their family's health and nutrition, and in the education of children, the benefits from investment in women's development tend to be spread more widely throughout society and across generations; (2) women contribute far more to the economy and to the family than is reflected in official statistics. Recognizing this will help policymakers in making informed decisions on resource allocation; and (3) easing the cultural and traditional constraints on women's productivity would lead to increased productivity and incomes. Includes numerous tables. Contains approximately 200 references. (DK)

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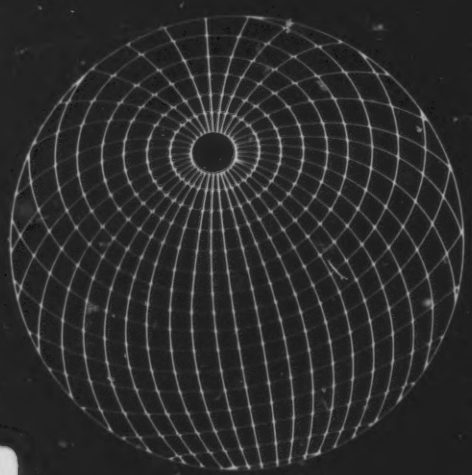

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A WORLD BANK COUNTRY STUDY

Turkey

Women in Development

The World Bank
Washington, D.C.

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First printing June 1993

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ISSN: 0253-2123

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Turkey : women in development.
p. cm. — (A World Bank country study, ISSN 0253-2123)
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 0-8213-2375-X
1. Women—Turkey—Economic conditions. 2. Women—Employment—Turkey. 3. Women in development—Turkey. 4. Women—Turkey—Social conditions. I. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. II. Series.
HQ1726.7.T85 1993
305.42'09561—dc20 93-14762
CIP

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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The report was prepared by Sandra Hadler, based on the findings of a mission to Turkey in July 1991 and comprising also Professors Jasmeen Mohiuddin and Morton Stelcner. Valuable contributions and background reports were received from Bulma Aksit, Nedret Durutan, Yildez Ecevit, Omer Karasapan, Michael Mertaugh, Nurhan Sural and Tunc Uyanik. Helpful comments and advice were provided at various stages by Barbara Herz, Stephen Heyneman and William McCleary. Barbara Mondestin and Suzanne Zamora were responsible for document preparation. Meral Gokcek provided support in Ankara. The mission wishes to thank the Turkish authorities for their support and cooperation in providing information and data used in this study as well as their comments on earlier drafts of the study.

Though care and attention has been given to the use of statistical material, there are shortcomings in the data and, in particular, the historical labor data. The report is based primarily on official data but where appropriate and necessary it also uses estimates provided by various research institutes and outside official agencies, notably the OECD.

CURRENCY EQUIVALENTS

Currency Unit = Turkish Lira (TL)
US$1.00 = TL4100 (1991 Average)
All dollars are US dollars unless otherwise stated

ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	-	Convention on the Elimination of All Discrimination Against Women
DGWSP	-	Directorate General for Women's Status and Problems
DI	-	Duncan or Dissimilarity Index
EDI	-	Economic Development Institute of the World Bank
ESC	-	European Social Charter
FRI	-	Family Research Institute
GAP	-	Southeastern Anatolian Project
GT	-	Government of Turkey
HIPS	-	Haceteppe University Institute of Population Studies
IIBK	-	Turkish Employment Organization
ILO	-	International Labor Organization
IMR	-	Infant Mortality Rate
LFS	-	Household Labor Force Survey
MARA	-	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs
MOE	-	Ministry of National Education
MOH	-	Ministry of Health
MOL	-	Ministry of Labor and Social Security
NFTW	-	National Foundation for the Advancement and Recognition of Turkish Women
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organizations
SII	-	Social Insurance Institution
SIS	-	State Institute of Statistics
SPO	-	State Planning Organisation
SSCPA	-	Social Security and Child Protection Agency
TDF	-	Turkish Development Foundation
TFR	-	Total Fertility Rate
TRT	-	Turkish Radio and Television
TSI	-	Institute of Turkish Standards
TUBITAK	-	Scientific and Technical Research Council of Turkey
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UOE	-	Undersecretariat of Environment
WE	-	Women and Employment Index

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. This report is intended to serve as the basis of the World Bank's support to the Government of Turkey for implementing its policies to enhance the participation of women in the economic development process. It provides background information about the situation of women in Turkey, including legal and health issues, and examines Government strategies to incorporate women into national policies and programs. The main focus of the report, however, is on increasing and raising the quality of women's participation in the labor force. To this end, the report gives particular attention to enhancing women's labor skills and income-earning potential through education, technical training and credit; and to opening their access to higher paying jobs in industry and agriculture.

Strategic Considerations and Directions

2. Turkey can benefit significantly in terms of increased productivity, enhanced family welfare and reduced population growth by focusing more on the development potential of its women. To this end, the report advances three general propositions.

- Investments in women will promote economic development. Because of the critical role women play in their family's health and nutrition and in the education of children, the benefits from investment in women's development tend to be spread more widely throughout society and across generations;

- Women contribute far more to the economy and to the family than is reflected in official statistics. Recognizing the role of women in the development process (through the adoption of better statistical indicators) will help policy-makers in making informed decisions on resource allocation. Simultaneously, increasing the visibility and awareness of women's contributions in the public and private sectors, as Government has recently begun to do, and through the use of the media would facilitate the integration of women in the development process; and

- Although women's contribution is substantial their productivity remains low because of constraints of culture and tradition, even though the laws and policies are, in general, gender neutral. Easing these constraints, for instance through "moral suasion", would lead to productivity increases and increased household income.

3. Turkey's continued rapid development and integration into Europe will be facilitated if the constraints faced by women with respect to human and productive resource development are alleviated. Without appropriate investment in women's education, training and health and increased female participation in production, the economy will bear the consequences in terms of foregone production, diminished family welfare and higher population growth.

The Situation of Women

4. The position of women in Turkey varies over an extremely wide range: from the highly educated, professional women in the major cities to the majority of women in the urban and rural areas who are caught between two different worlds - one, determined by culture and tradition that limits their activities to the family homestead, and the other, shaped in large part by the continuing migration that brings them into the modern, productive sectors. During the past decade, however, traditional norms relating to women have been breaking down. Nevertheless, Government has recognized that gender-neutral policies are not sufficient for fully exploiting women's potential contribution to the economy, and that women's issues thus warrant a specific focus. Notwithstanding the far-reaching reforms introduced in the early Republican era, women's access to services that can help them to acquire knowledge, obtain essential technical and social services to overcome gender-specific constraints to their labor force participation remain limited. Thus, the majority of women face limited economic opportunities and continue to occupy subordinate positions in the household and the economy. It is on this majority of women that the report focuses.

5. Although the life patterns of the majority of Turkish women remain conditioned by male-dominated institutions relating to the family, society and the economy, the traditional norm of a woman remaining inside the homestead, and of a male providing "protection", has been continuously changing as a result of economic and demographic developments. This evolution is resisted, however, by the more conservative elements of society, which have pushed during the eighties for a renewed emphasis on women's role as wife and mother. Women in Turkey continue to marry early and, despite declining national fertility rates, high fertility patterns remain the norm in some regions. Overall, the prevailing social norms still leave women dependent on men or at risk when deserted and continue to produce a strict division of labor and highly gender-segregated labor market.

6. Women make a major contribution to the economy and the family. Not only do they participate significantly in agricultural and industrial labor, but also they are charged with general household responsibilities, childcare and caring for the old and infirm. Nonetheless, women's contribution is seriously understated in the national accounts because it is unpriced and largely unmarketed. For the majority of women, their ability to be independent and take initiative, acquire new ideas, skills and contacts and to work outside the homestead remains restricted by tradition and culture. In their labor-force participation, women remain a largely unskilled or semi-skilled resource. Thus, the majority of women in Turkey have not benefitted to the same extent as men from the far-reaching reforms of the early Republican era or from economic development.

7. The issues Turkey faces in simultaneously increasing economic efficiency and the status of women are virtually the same as those faced by the OECD countries following World War II and, more recently, by the newly industrialized countries. With the transformation from a primarily agricultural economy to an increasingly industrialized one, and with the consequent changes in the social fabric over the past three decades, Turkey has experienced a decline in female labor force participation, which will likely be reversed. If this upswing in labor force participation is to be accompanied by growing economic efficiency, measures are needed to increase the productivity of the female labor force. Thus, the focus of the report is on measures that will support both an increase in female participation, enhance women's skills, and open up productive and non-traditional occupations to women. Female labor force participation in Turkey is currently around 33%, compared to 74% for men. If female participation were to increase to 50% (somewhat lower than the current OECD norm), ceteris paribus, this would

amount to an increase in the current female labor force from 6.5 million to 9.5 million. At the same time, increasing urbanization and educational attainment will result in significant changes in sectoral and occupational composition of the female labor force.

8. The implications of these changes are complex and will affect all aspects of Turkey's economic and social development. As a result, the coverage and the findings of this report are unusually wide-ranging, touching on cultural and traditional issues that are normally beyond the purview of Bank reports. The report offers a large number of proposals, but as noted above, priority is given to measures to support an increase in female participation and employment in productive, non-traditional occupations. To provide perspective, the following section assesses the position of women in Turkey today and in a group of comparator countries in terms of selected socio-economic indicators. The subsequent sections summarize the main findings and recommendations of the report, focusing in particular on the participation of women in the labor force and on sectoral issues that can simultaneously strengthen women's standing and contribution. The final section addresses Government's strategies to incorporate women into national policies and programs.

Progress in Women's Welfare and Participation

9. According to almost every socio-economic indicator, the standing of women in Turkey has improved significantly in recent decades. Regional variation and comparison with a group of middle- and higher-income countries (see Indicators Table below) indicate, however, some areas where further improvement is desirable. Four groups of indicators, in particular, are useful in summarizing Turkey's progress. The first relate to life expectancy and the number of women living relative to men (the sex ratio). The second relate to health and fertility indicators - not only as a means of reducing population growth but also of giving women greater control over their lives. The third relate to human resource development and, in particular, education. The fourth group relates to women's participation in the economy and their contribution to household income.

Life Expectancy and Sex Ratio

10. Women in Turkey constitute 49% of the population, compared to an average *sex ratio* in the industrialized countries of 52% and 48% in the low-income developing countries. This suggests that women are slightly disadvantaged compared to men in Turkey in terms of health and nutrition. The background health study (Annex 2) concludes that this is a result primarily of women's reproductive role. The *life expectancy* differential between men and women in Turkey, however, reveals a very rapid gain in female life expectancy. Recent data indicate a female life expectancy of 69 years against 64 years for men - compared to 55 and 52 years, respectively, in the mid-1960s. The comparator data provided in the Indicators Table show that both the level and improvement in male and female life expectancy in Turkey are commensurate with that of the middle-income countries.

Indicators of the Status of Women in Turkey and Selected Countries

Indicator	Year	Turkey	Colombia	Greece	Mexico	Portugal	Spain
Population (m)	Mid-1989	55.0	32.3	10.0	84.6	10.3	38.8
Population growth rate (%)	1965-80	2.4	2.5	0.7	3.1	0.4	1.0
	1980-89	2.4	2.0	0.4	2.1	0.6	0.4
	1989-2000	2.0	1.6	0.2	1.8	0.4	0.4
Population (m)	2000	68	38	10.0	103	11	41.0
GNP per capita ($)	1989	1370	1200	5350	2010	4250	9330
GNP per capita growth (%)	1965-89	2.6	2.3	2.9	3.0	3.0	2.4
Daily Calorie Supply per capita	1988	3080	2561	3699	3135	3382	3543
Life Expectancy at birth							
Female	1965	55	61	72	61	68	74
	1989	69	72	80	73	78	80
Male	1965	52	57	69	58	62	69
	1989	64	66	74	66	72	74
Total Fertility Rate	1965	5.7	6.5	2.3	6.7	3.1	2.9
	1989	3.6	2.9	1.5	3.4	1.6	1.4
	2000	2.7	2.2	1.6	2.4	1.7	1.6
Married Women of Childbearing age using contraception (%)	1986	77	63	..	53	..	59
Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births)	1980	207	130	12	92	15	10
Infant Mortality Rate (per 1000 live births)	1965	165	86	34	82	65	38
	1989	61	38	11	40	13	8
Low birth weight babies (%)	1985	7	15	6	15	8	..
Births Attended by Health Staff (%) 96	1985	78	51	..	..	..	..
Adult Illiteracy Rate							
Female	1985	38	13	12	12	20	8
Total	1985	26	12	8	10	16	6
% of Age Group Enrolled in Primary School (1988)							
Female		113	115	102	115	127	110
Total		117	114	102	117	126	111
% of Age Group Enrolled in Secondary School (1988)							
Female		34	56	93	53	63	111
Total		46	56	95	53	59	105
% of Age Group Enrolled in Tertiary Education (1988)							
Total		11	14	28	15	18	32
% of Central Government Expenditure on							
Health	1972	3.2	..	7.4	4.5	..	0.9
	1989	2.9	..	..	1.7	8.2	12.5
Education	1972	18.1	..	9.1	16.4	..	8.3
	1989	15.7	..	27.5	12.3	10.0	5.1
Total Exp. as % of GNP	1972	22.7	13.1	..	11.4	..	19.6
	1989	23.7	14.6	..	21.2	43.3	34.3
Female Labor Force (%)	1960-65	38.2	12.1	19.0	9.5	16.0	13.0
	1988 a/	30.1	14.4	20.0	18.4	31.4	17.4

Sources: World Development Report 1991, Social Indicators of Development, 1990
a/ Most recent estimate.

Health and Fertility Indicators

11. General *health indicators* of women and their children have improved significantly since 1960. The infant mortality rate, in particular, has declined dramatically from 165 in 1965 to 61 in 1989 - although this remains higher than in many middle-income countries. Simultaneously, *fertility rates* have declined significantly. Women give birth an average of 3.6 times - down from 6.8 in 1960. This also is higher than in many middle-income countries. Turkey has made strong progress in family planning since the introduction of the first Family Planning Law in 1965 and now has one of the highest contraceptive acceptance rates in the world (77% in 1988, which is on a par with Germany). The population growth rate, however, remains unchanged since the mid-1960s at 2.4% and suggests a margin for improvement. Fertility and health indicators, in general, show a continuing and significant regional variation that warrants greater attention in the design and implementation of health and information delivery services.

Education

12. *Universal education* has been an important principle of the country since the founding of the Republic, and the Constitution assures equal educational opportunity for boys and girls. Since 1970, Turkey has made significant progress in reducing the gender gap in education and literacy. The proportion of illiterate women in the female labor force has fallen from 69% in 1970 to 29% in 1990; the corresponding percentages for men have also fallen from 29% in 1970 to 8% in 1990. Gender segregation however exists, particularly in vocational schools, and female enrollments decline with increasing grade level. At the secondary level (Indicators Table), Turkey lags behind many of the middle-income countries in female enrollments.

Participation

13. *Female labor force participation* in Turkey is 33% - significantly higher than in most middle-income countries. Compared however to OECD countries, the female participation rate is one of the lowest. With a male participation rate of 74%, the gender differential in participation is also one of the highest in the OECD.

14. *Gender participation rates by urban/rural residence* show marked differences: the participation rates for women and men in rural areas are 51% and 78%, respectively, and in urban areas 15% and 70%, respectively. Given the urban migration since the 1950s - the proportion of Turkey's population living in urban areas has virtually doubled from 29% in 1955 to 59% in 1990 - the continuing low urban female participation rate is surprising. This is attributable, at least partially, to the omission from official labor statistics of informal sector workers, as well as more limited opportunities for women's employment in urban areas and social constraints to their employment (Chapter II and Annex 4).

15. *Sectoral employment patterns* for men and women also differ significantly. Approximately 74% of women in the labor force are employed in agriculture, 7% in industry and 12% in services, while men are more evenly distributed across sectors - 34% in agriculture, 24% in industry and 38% in services. Similarly, there is a marked difference in gender *employment status*: 68% of women in the labor force in 1990 were unpaid family workers and 25% were wage earners or self-

employed, compared to 14% of men who were unpaid and 82% who were wage earners or self-employed. Analysis of data by *occupation and economic sector* show women concentrated in the lower occupational categories and performing work closely related to their traditional household duties.

16. When the lower educational attainment of the female labor force (almost 30% of the female labor force but only 8% of the male labor force were illiterate in 1990) is also taken into consideration, these differential patterns indicate a labor force that is markedly segregated by gender and in which women remain a largely unskilled or semi-skilled resource. The high proportion of women who are unpaid family workers also raises concerns regarding the recognition of women's contribution to household income and their influence in household decision-making.

Women in the Labor Force

17. Increasing women's ability to contribute to a country's development plays a critical role in simultaneously increasing overall economic efficiency and improving the relative economic status of women. While Government recognizes the importance of women to Turkey's economic development there has been little consideration, to date, by policymakers as to how to further women's integration into the economy. This section briefly summarizes the major report findings concerning the labor force participation of Turkish women and policy responses that would enhance the ability of women to become effective agents in Turkey's development (Chapter II). The major findings are:

- There has been a *sharp decline in female labor force participation* in Turkey - from almost 70% in 1955 to 33% in 1990. This is consistent with the widely-documented U-shaped relationship between economic development and female participation observed in the OECD countries since World War II, and where female labor force participation now exceeds 50%. A comparison of the female participation pattern in Turkey with that of four southern European OECD countries suggests that Turkey is likely to experience a secular upturn in female participation (paras. 2.13-19). How quickly the second stage of the U-shaped relationship materializes will depend largely on two considerations: the availability of employment opportunities for women and the supply of skilled and qualified women who could take advantage of these opportunities. Policy initiatives focusing on women's participation in non-traditional activities will be needed to support this upturn (paras. 2.55-62).

- The *work force in Turkey is markedly segregated by gender*, especially in urban areas, where people tend to have higher educational attainments and wider employment opportunities. While the gender segregation is similar to that observed in OECD countries, it is more intense and, as the experience of the OECD countries has shown, will be difficult to alleviate without policy interventions focusing on, inter alia, education and training, the introduction of employment equity programs and repeal of discriminatory protective legislation (paras. 2.22-32).

- In addition to the potential upturn in female participation, *there are major policy concerns regarding the "stock" of women in the labor force.* The impact of the increasingly educated female labor force has not been reflected in the labor markets, although this will be largely a matter of time (paras. 2.44-52). For instance in 1990, 50% of the urban female labor force but only 5% of the rural female labor force had

more than a primary school education. Currently, the educational level of the rural women will constrain their labor force participation, regardless of the availability of employment opportunities. Based on current enrollment rates, the proportion of rural women with more than a primary school education will be significantly higher a decade from now, as will be their employment expectations. This underlines the need for policy measures designed to promote the employment of women in higher productivity jobs in both urban and rural areas. Such measures are important not only for women's employment but for regional development.

18. Policy initiatives that Government may wish to consider include the following:

- An *important - if not the key element - is education*, including all forms of schooling: formal and informal, adult education, vocational and on-the-job. Raising women's educational attainments or earnings capacity - especially at the post-primary levels and in programs, courses, and fields of study that would meet the skill requirements of industrialization - will improve both economic efficiency and women's economic status. Increased and improved education will raise their participation rates, reduce the likelihood of unemployment and increase continuity in their labor force attachment. Moreover, changing the patterns of women's education will likely reduce the gender wage gap and segregation in the work place, as well as change attitudes towards the gender division of labor. Changing educational policies is a necessary but not sufficient condition for improving the status of women. If educational policies are to be successful in removing gender disparities in the work place, they must be *complemented by labor market-related initiatives*. To this end, there are several policy measures that could be pursued.

- *Policies for integrating women in the development process need specifically to focus on broadening women's skill range.* Much of the observed gender disparity in participation rates and earnings, and the persistence of segregation in the work force can be attributed to gender differences in education and training. Reducing these differences will impact favorably on the status of women and on Turkey's overall development.

- *Progress towards eliminating gender segregation*, can be promoted by the Government itself setting an example to ensure symbolically and substantively that gender segregation is not perpetuated. The implementation of employment equity initiatives, along the lines pursued in Canada (Chapter II, Box 1), would also represent an important step in facilitating the equal access of women to employment opportunities. Employment equity programs, not to be confused with "affirmative action" or quota initiatives, aim at preventing or reducing disadvantages experienced by designated groups by designing and implementing agency-specific measures to overcome identified disadvantages. The programs are given "teeth" in both private and public sector agencies by being tied to federal funding. Action in this area, would need to be coordinated simultaneously with other initiatives.

- Inter alia, some *protective legislation* designed to ensure that women are not exposed to hazardous physical or moral conditions in the workplace has the unintended effect of restricting women's job opportunities. Consideration should be given to repealing

measures that provide for differential treatment of workers by gender, with the exception of maternity protection (Annex 1). The experience of several countries suggests that the repeal of such legislation will play a significant role in changing the attitudes of men and women towards "suitable" women's work and will also influence women's career choices.

° There are also *constraints emanating from the labor market* that make it difficult for women to seek formal market work. Labor demand constraints, which generally arise from labor standards legislation and collective agreements, are reflected in minimum working hours and in rigid work schedules. These constraints compound the difficulty of combining market work with household responsibilities. Encouraging (or mandating) employers to provide more flexible time arrangements by modifying labor regulations to permit flexitime and part-time would be a useful policy measure.

° Women's employment opportunities are further influenced by *the costs of employment* - the location of the jobs reflected in commute time and expenditures on clothing, childcare and meals. Enforcement of existing regulations regarding enterprise childcare facilities and encouragement to establish community or family childcare facilities, for instance, as in the Bank-supported day care project in Colombia, would be beneficial (Chapter III and Annex 4).

° *A further and highly significant policy initiative to increase the awareness of women's contribution concerns the collection and publication of data.* A comprehensive and up-to-date data base of socioeconomic indicators on the role and relative situation of women is a *sine qua non* for analyzing and formulating policy initiatives designed to improve women's relative economic status and for monitoring, inter alia, the impacts of such initiatives. Consideration should be given to both the regular publication of a statistical report on the socio-economic status of women (as SIS is now proposing) and the undertaking of policy-oriented research on a wide range of women's issues (paras. 2.62-64).

19. Additional recommendations to further women's participation, which Government may wish to address, include promotional and publicity campaigns (para. 2.65), and increasing the proportion of women with social insurance coverage (para. 2.61).

20. Chapter III identifies constraints to women's productivity in the agriculture, industry and service sectors and proposes alleviating measures. In *agriculture*, where almost 75% of women work, the extension and research delivery systems, with their focus on male activities are a major constraint to women's productivity (3.34-38). Inter alia, there are virtually no female extension agents - as opposed to home economists - outside the provincial directorates and extension agents are required to work with titled land owners. Within the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, pilot programs are now being established to address these constraints through the re-training of home economists as field agents. The opening up of the agricultural extension training program, currently offered only in boy's vocational schools, and explicit consideration of women's role in agriculture in both the central and regional offices in planning, extension, technology and research would be useful first steps. The employment of female home economists throughout the country demonstrates the feasibility of finding women to also work as extension agents.

21. Although less than 20% of the female labor force is employed in the *industry and service sectors*, these sectors are of central importance to the integration of women in generating new (non-traditional) employment opportunities (paras. 3.08-22). Since 1970, employment growth of women in the industrial sector has lagged behind that of men, while in the services sector it has significantly outpaced men's employment. The inclusion of the informal sector in official labor statistics would strengthen understanding of developments in these two sectors. Detailed analysis of employment trends and potential is also needed to underpin the formulation of policy measures to further women's participation in these sectors.

22. The major constraints identified to women's productivity in industry and services are the high degree of job segregation - 80% of women in industry work in the textiles and food sub-sectors and, of these, 80% work in the lower occupational (production) ranks - and labor market factors (para. 18 above). Proposed policy measures would focus on broadening training and employment opportunities in non-traditional occupations; facilitating access to resources, especially credit; a review of labor legislation and regulations and their enforcement; re-entry opportunities; and encouragement of childcare facilities (paras. 3.39-41). To overcome the relatively low proportion of women entrepreneurs and self-employed women in Turkey, training in basic business and management skills should also be encouraged. Programs to promote women's entrepreneurship developed with EDI may provide a useful model. Additional proposals focus on the need to reconsider Government support for homebased work and the urgent need for broad-based sectoral research on women's participation.

23. The legal environment and access to credit constrain women's productivity in all sectors, and therefore warrant specific consideration.

Legal Environment

24. The background legal paper prepared for this report (Annex 1) concludes that the legal status of women is at par with that of men, in that the Constitution and the Civil Code are, for the most part, gender neutral. However, these also acknowledge unequal status by reserving the right of making special provisions for women. In fact, under the Civil Code, women function under a "partial disability" (Law of Persons, Article 8) and until the National Assembly reviews the recommendations of the reform commission for the Civil Code, filed with the Ministry of Justice in 1984, men are designated the legal head of the household and have broader rights than women (Law of Family, Articles 152-158). Moreover, although laws relating to marriage, divorce, child custody, inheritance and maintenance are governed by the Civil Code, traditional practices continue in many areas. For instance, although the laws of property and inheritance are gender neutral (with the exception of agricultural land), the continuing practice of having immovable property acquired during the marriage registered in the man's name lends to difficulties in the case of divorce or death of the husband and, undoubtedly, also constrains the wife's access to credit (Annex 1).

25. Some of the existing labor legislation raises serious concerns regarding women's full participation (Annex 1, paras. 35-55). For instance, Article 13 of the Labor Law permits an employer to dismiss a woman worker on grounds of pregnancy, while some of the protective legislation in the industrial sectors contributes to confining women to traditional and low-paying occupations. Once these concerns are addressed, consideration should also be given to extending labor legislation to the agricultural and informal sectors (which together employ more than 80% of the female labor force), where workers are currently without benefit of protective legislation or regulations regarding working conditions. Simultaneously, more vigorous enforcement of supportive labor and civil legislation would

help alleviate constraints faced by women in their full participation. Women - and men - need assistance in understanding and pursuing their rights under the law; the establishment of legal advice bureaux and/or counseling facilities should be considered.

26. With a view therefore to furthering women's integration, Government may wish to consider the following actions:

- accelerate implementation of the Civil Code proposals of the reform commission;
- review existing labor legislation and, in particular, protective legislation to ensure its gender neutrality;
- consider extending labor legislation to the agricultural and informal sectors; and
- institute measures to enforce existing beneficial legislation, both civil and labor.

Credit

27. To facilitate their integration, Turkish women - and small enterprises, in general - need increased access to credit. In the absence of gender-specific data, a limited survey of women's access to credit was undertaken for this report (Annex 6). The results suggest that the access of women (and small enterprises) to credit in Turkey is constrained on the supply side by three factors: traditional collateral requirements of financial institutions based on land title; standard loan formalities, including lengthy application procedures; and an emphasis of financial institutions on providing credit for traditional entrepreneurial activities and, in agriculture, an emphasis on loans for commercial crops, which tend to be male-intensive activities. On the demand side, access is also constrained by the tendency of women to invest in activities with inherently low rates of return; exacerbated by their low skill levels, particularly in business matters; and the prevailing view that finance is the prerogative of male kin (paras. 3.28-31).

28. In recent years, programs have been initiated to address these constraints. Government has introduced a number of small credit programs, such as the Family Credit Program of Halk Bank, where 80% of credits have been for women involved in handicrafts in the home. The overhead costs of the programs, however, appear to be high, and the rationale for supporting women's homebased employment warrants reconsideration. NGOs, such as the Turkish Development Foundation and the Foundation for the Advancement and Recognition of Turkish Women have recently and successfully introduced limited cash and in-kind credit programs for women in non-traditional agricultural activities.

29. To ease the credit constraints facing women (and small enterprises generally), consideration should be given to:

- strengthening existing programs by simplifying and facilitating both delivery and recovery procedures;
- expanding and strengthening related non-credit activities, particularly in training and business know-how, possibly through entrepreneurship training courses tied to a revolving credit fund; and
- increasing the dissemination of information on existing credit facilities.

Education and Training

30. The significant progress in reducing the gender gap in education and the central importance of education and training to the fuller integration of women have been touched on in sections A and B above: Chapter IV and Annex 4 address in detail Government's education and training programs and their role in furthering women's opportunities for employment, in addition to the non-market and intergenerational benefits of furthering women's education. The major conclusions are:

- Notwithstanding the significant progress made in extending universal education and reducing the gender literacy gap, Turkey still lags behind middle-income comparator countries in the proportion of the school-aged population, and of girls in particular, enrolled in middle and secondary schools.

- Regional variations in gender enrollments and literacy rates are significant (Table 4.6). The recent Study of Factors Affecting Girls' School Attendance in Turkey concludes that economic, cultural and logistical (transportation) factors strongly influence girls' attendance and recommends that targeted interventions be designed to encourage their attendance in areas of deficient enrollment including, inter alia, consideration to establishing girls' middle and secondary schools for the current generation.

- Currently, one-third of vocational and technical schools are designated for girls. Courses offered focus on traditional women's occupations, with little potential for career growth and without consideration of skills needed for self-employment or business management. To address *the bias in education/training which constrains women's labor force opportunities, consideration should be given to eliminating the designation of separate boys' and girls' vocational and technical schools and the corresponding distinction in the administrative structure of the Ministry of Education.* Simultaneously, there is a need to set up *programs to attract girls to non-traditional vocational programs and to programs that are currently male-dominated,* as has been successfully done in Morocco. Simultaneously, *the expansion of job-oriented training for women,* as has been introduced by the Turkish Employment Office (IIBK), warrants further support.

Fertility, Nutrition and Health Status

31. The background health study undertaken for this report (Annex 2) concludes that, while considerable progress has been realized in recent decades, women are slightly disadvantaged compared to men in Turkey in terms of health and nutrition, primarily as a result of their reproductive role. The major conclusions (Chapter I and Annex 2 present details) are:

- Women's health and fertility indicators show significant regional variation and suggest a need to strengthen regionally the delivery of health and family planning services. Family planning services, in particular, could be strengthened through a focus on modern methods, the use of languages that would be understood by local inhabitants and increased follow-up and counseling.

- Several factors suggest a strong need for improved information and education. For instance, a high proportion of contraceptive users rely on traditional methods, one-third of Turkish women are anemic, and one-third are obese. Consideration could be given to the promotion of media campaigns and community education programs addressing, inter alia, family planning, maternal care, nutrition and health.

- Simultaneously, there are several measures which could improve the health care of women and pregnant women, in particular. These include strengthening health delivery services, for instance through the distribution of iron tablets and iodine supplements, and strengthening the training of midwives and implementing systems of referral.

Government Plans and Programs for Women

32. Since the early years of the Republic, Government's view was that gender-neutral policies were sufficient to ensure what had been provided by law. Coinciding with the resurgence of interest in women's issues in the mid-eighties, however, there has been an acceptance within Government of the need for a special emphasis on women's issues (Chapter V). Thus, the current Sixth Five-Year Plan (1990-94) addresses specifically women's issues. Simultaneously, the Directorate General for Women's Status and Problems (DGWSP) was established in 1990, charged with improving women's status and promoting their full integration into the economy and the Family Research Institute, which also addresses women but as the central element of the family was established in 1989. To date, the former has been handicapped by institutional and physical relocations and budgetary constraints. Nonetheless, its establishment is a very positive step and sends clear signals of Government's intentions to strengthen the standing of women. The new Government in November 1991 created a separate Ministry of State for Women, providing clear indication of commitment at the highest levels. In the near term, the Ministry will need considerable support to realize its advisory and catalytic role. In light of the experience with national machineries for women in the 1980s, and as a first step towards implementing policies and sectoral recommendations, the following should be considered.

- Ensure that all line ministries and agencies see women's development as an integral and priority element of *national development* and therefore as part of their own regular responsibilities - i.e., not a responsibility to be passed on to the Ministry of State for Women.

- Establish an inter-ministerial committee chaired, at least initially, by the Prime Minister with representatives from the line ministries and agencies. Each representative should present a timebound action plan for promoting the welfare and productivity of women in their ministry or agency and be required to report progress in its implementation to the committee on a regular basis.

- Establish women's units at the highest levels within the key line ministries (for instance, Labor, Education, Agriculture) responsible for implementing and monitoring the action plans and for ensuring that women's issues are integrated into all ministry programs and policies.

- Ensure that people of the highest caliber are appointed to key positions involved with the formulation, implementation and monitoring of policies and programs to improve the status of women.

- Ensure a sustained effort to raise the visibility of women's issues, in general, and their contribution, in particular. This can be realized through, inter alia, media campaigns, revision of curricula and textbooks, publication of an annual statistical report on the status of women and undertaking and publishing a broad-based program of research on women's issues.

33. In addition to the Ministry, there are a number of NGOs actively working on women's issues in Turkey (paras. 5.21-27). Greater support for their innovative activities and closer collaboration with Government agencies are indicated. Government also ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1985 and the European Social Charter in 1989. Further progress in eliminating Turkey's reservations to these conventions is needed. The new Government has indicated its intentions to comply with CEDAW in the near future. Progress in compliance with the Charter, and the Charter's Action Program that is close to being finalized with far-reaching labor recommendations, will be important for Turkey's acceptance to the EC.

34. Notwithstanding the significant institutional progress that has been made, women's issues are not clearly addressed in Government's programs. For instance, the need for women to earn an independent income is not widely recognized. Men are seen to require employment to sustain the family, whereas women are seen as needing more income-generating activities to perform in their spare time as extensions of domestic activities to supplement family income. Women's contribution to both the economy and the household is not fully appreciated. There is an urgent need to assess the impact of structural changes in the economy that are causing more women to seek wage labor outside the home and to assess the impact on the economy through the longer term of the consequences of the current gender segregation of the labor force.

35. Income-generating activities carried out by women in connection with Government training programs are generally characterized by low productivity activities that are an extension of women's traditional activities, low returns and weak demand in the labor markets. Training programs do not appear to generate substantial improvement in women's incomes. Evidence from small programs initiated by non-governmental organizations in non-traditional market activities (for instance, poultry and bee-keeping) demonstrate the potential to generate sustained and profitable employment for women and to increase productivity. However, outside of these limited projects in the agricultural sector, few instances of attempts to draw women into non-traditional activities were found in the ministries involved in training or the international agency programs. The need to introduce training programs that are in the interest both of the long-term development of Turkey's economy, and which create productive employment for women with potential for career growth, is one of the central themes of this report.

CHAPTER I

THE SITUATION OF WOMEN IN TURKEY

Introduction

1.01 In adopting the Swiss Civil Code in 1926, Turkey became the first Islamic country to eliminate the Sharia, the Islamic legal code that underlies the segregation of sexes and differential legal treatment. This step cleared the way for comprehensive changes in the status of women in Turkey. Nonetheless, more than half a century later, there are a multitude of issues relating to the role and status of women. In very general terms, these range from the extent to which legal reform and the separation of religion from state has affected the traditional life style of women in Turkish society, to major economic and social factors that are impacting on their role and ability to participate in the country's development.

1.02 This report is intended to serve as the basis of the World Bank's discussions with the Government of Turkey to enhance the participation of women in the economic development process. In light of these discussions, the Bank will prepare an action program, which would serve as the basis for its support to the Government to enhance women's participation. While touching on the general situation of women, the focus of the report is on women's labor force participation and the constraints they face therein. In this context, the report addresses issues concerning women in four major areas: education and technical training, agriculture, industry and credit, together with the impact of the legal framework on women's participation. In addition, the report addresses women's health, fertility and nutritional status. The role and impact of Government on women and its strategies to incorporate women into national policies and programs are also examined.

The Social, Political and Economic Position of Women

1.03 As an Islamic country where religion and state are separate, the status of women in Turkey is perhaps more than in most countries, complex and multifaceted. The situation of women in Turkey covers an extremely wide range; from the highly educated, professional women in the major cities to the majority of women in the urban and rural areas, who are caught between two different worlds - one, determined by culture and tradition that largely restricts their activities to the family homestead and the other, shaped in large part, by the continuing migration that brings them into the modern, productive sectors.

1.04 Although the life patterns of the majority of Turkish women remain conditioned by male-dominated institutions relating to the family, society and the economy, the traditional norm of a woman remaining inside the homestead and of a male providing "protection" has been gradually changing as a result of economic and demographic developments. This evolution is resisted, however, by the more conservative elements of society, which have pushed during the eighties for a renewed emphasis on women's role as wife and mother. Women in Turkey, continue to marry early, particularly in the rural areas, and soon enter into a pattern of high fertility. Overall, the prevailing social norms continue to leave women dependent on men or at risk when deserted and produce a strict division of labor and highly gender segregated labor market.

1.05 Women contribute a great deal to the economy and the family. Not only do they participate significantly in agricultural and industrial labor but also they are charged with general household responsibilities (including in some areas, collecting firewood and water), childcare and caring for the old and infirm. Nonetheless, a woman's contribution goes unrecognized in the national accounts because it is unpriced (difficult to value) and invisible (consumed immediately). For the majority of women, their ability to be independent and take initiative, acquire new ideas, skills and contacts and to work outside the home is restricted by tradition and culture. Thus, the majority of women have not benefitted to the same extent as men from the far-reaching reforms of the early Republican era or from economic development and in terms of labor-force participation, women remain a largely unskilled or semi-skilled resource. It is on this group of women that the report focusses.

1.06 To better understand the position of women in Turkey, the impact of the early Republican era reforms need to be taken into account. Specifically, by eliminating segregation and differential legal treatment of women the reforms cleared the way for comprehensive changes in the position of women. In the 1920's, when neither the BBC nor American radio stations would consider the employment of a woman announcer, Turkish radio employed women as both announcers and technicians.[1/] In the 1930s, women began to enter public office and the professions and were given strong encouragement and support. In Parliament, the number of female deputies reached a peak of 18 (4.5%) in 1934. Although first admitted to academic positions in 1932-33, by 1946-47, 44% of all faculty in the Natural Sciences were women.[2/] Today, amongst the professions there remains a marked absence of gender-typing, which is thought to be the result of the encouragement to women in the early Republican era. Nonetheless, and while the educated urban Turkish women are well-represented in the professions and public office compared to many middle-income developing countries, there has been a decline in their participation since the mid-1940s. The position and status of the majority of Turkish women, however, appears to have changed little since the beginning of the Republican era.

Legal Status

1.07 Notwithstanding the gender-neutral character of the 1982 Constitution and the 1926 Civil Code adopted from Switzerland, there are a number of areas in which the legal framework constrains women's full participation. Annex 1 examines in detail the treatment of women under the country's legal framework, both as the law is written and as it is carried out in practice, in light of traditional, cultural practices. An attempt is also made in the Annex to identify specific constraints to the ability of women to contribute to the development process that are imbedded in the legal framework and to indicate where remedial measures could improve the treatment of women. This section briefly summarizes the main issues.

1.08 Within the Constitution two articles raise concerns: Article 41 on the Protection of the Family mandates that the State shall take the necessary measures and establish the necessary organization to ensure the peace and welfare of the family and the protection of the mother and children; and Article 50 on Working Conditions and the Right to Rest and Leisure states "minors and women" shall enjoy special protection regarding working conditions. While seemingly paternalistic, these articles are less than benign in practice. Although discrimination is proscribed under the Constitution, instances occur and underline

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[1/] Kirby (1960).

[2/] See Acar in OECD and GOT, 1989.

the difficulties, in practice, of eliminating discrimination, obtaining legal redress and to the need for a legal mechanism to provide redress for employment discrimination.

1.09 The Civil Code also does not provide for the full equality of women. Articles 151-158 on the family define the husband as the head of household, who determines domicile and whose views prevail on family matters in case of dispute. The annulment in 1990 of Article 159 which required that a woman obtain her husband's permission to work, represents a major step forward for Turkish women. While the provisions of the Civil Code regarding women's issues were progressive at the time of adoption some have proved to be insufficient for society today. Accordingly, Switzerland passed significant amendments regarding women's rights in 1984. In Turkey, a commission was appointed to prepare amendment proposals (including Articles 151-158) and submitted its report to the Ministry of Justice in 1984. The proposed amendments have still to be approved by the National Assembly, but the current Government is proposing their early consideration.

1.10 The laws on Education, Property, Banking and Credit Regulation are essentially gender-neutral. However, the implementation of the laws relating to property and inheritance (particularly in the context of immovable property acquired during marriage), in effect, favor men and their access to credit (Annex 1). The Laws of Succession (in particular Articles 597-598, relating to agricultural land that give priority to male children) and the Nationality Code (notably regarding acquisition or loss of Turkish nationality other than by birth) do however treat women differently. The former especially, may constrain women's participation, given that women constitute 50% of the agricultural labor force.

1.11 The major concern of this report within the legal framework, however, is the labor legislation. While many of the labor issues relate to both men and women (for instance, job security) others, such as Article 13 of the Labor Law which permits an employer to dismiss a woman worker on grounds of pregnancy, constrain women's participation specifically. Currently a commission within the Cabinet is reviewing draft legislation pertaining to job security that will bring Turkish legislation in compliance with ILO Convention 158; enactment of the legislation is anticipated in the near future. Also, some of the protective regulations contribute to constraining women to traditional, and generally, low-paying occupations. In addition to a re-evaluation of discriminatory protective legislation, women would benefit from the extension of legislation concerning working conditions to all workers, particularly those in the informal and agricultural sectors, and to the introduction of legislation for part-time and flexitime employment. Enforcement of existing beneficial civil and labor legislation, also warrant further consideration as indicated, for instance, by the small number of childcare centers in enterprises and the low proportion of civil marriages registered in rural areas.

Fertility, Nutrition and Health Status

1.12 The background health study (Annex 2) prepared for this report concludes that health indicators of women and their children have improved significantly since 1960 but that women are slightly disadvantaged compared to men in Turkey in terms of health and nutrition, primarily as a result of their reproductive role. Specifically, women in Turkey constitute approximately ~9% of the population compared to an average of 52% in the industrialized countries and 48% in the low-income developing countries. Nonetheless, the life expectancy differential between men and women in Turkey reveals a rapid gain in female life expectancy that suggests the disadvantage may be short-lived. Recent data

indicate a female life expectancy of 69 years [3] against 64 years for men (the gender differential in the industrialized countries is also 5 years) compared to 55 years for females and 52 years for males in the mid-1960s. Of particular significance in Turkey is the differential between urban and rural sex ratios, reflecting the continued urban migration since the 1950s. During the 1980's, this migration accelerated with the result that population growth in rural areas became significantly negative for the first time.

Mortality Rates

1.13 Mortality rates in Turkey have declined significantly in the past two decades, however, regional differences remain highly significant. Gender-specific differentials in infant/child mortality rates are not published in Turkey. However, recent studies (see Annex 2) indicate a sex preference for sons, such that parents give more attention to nutrition and health care for boys due, inter alia, to their contribution to family income and their importance as old age security. Although difficult to substantiate, Annex 2 argues that this preference affects both gender mortality and morbidity rates in Turkey.

1.14 *Maternal mortality rates* in Turkey are not readily available. Estimates based on hospital births are available but are inadequate, since approximately 60% of deliveries occur in hospitals. In 1989, a State Institute of Statistics (SIS) survey showed a maternal mortality rate of 132 per 100,000 births for 1981. This compares to a range of maternal mortality rates of 5-15 per 100,000 births in the industrialized countries. The mortality rates, however, are subject to major regional variation. For instance, community-based surveys conducted by the Ministry of Health (MOH) in 1986 in parts of eastern Turkey show a maternal mortality rate as high as 284.

1.15 Recent studies in Turkey indicate that the major factors contributing to high maternal mortality rates are frequent and young age of pregnancies. The average age of marriage for women in Turkey remains low - 18.2 years in 1988, slightly higher than in 1983 when the average age was 17.6 years. State Planning Organization (SPO) data show that in 1985 approximately 41% of females aged less than 19 were married and 84% by age 24. The age differential between husbands and wives, although also narrowing in recent years, is on average 6 years for women aged 20 years or less, putting men at a considerable advantage in family decision-making. Other factors contributing to high maternal mortality rates include malnutrition (although in Turkey, with an average caloric intake of about 3,200 calories, this is largely a matter of education), the low proportion of women receiving any pre-natal care (43%) and poorly conducted abortions. In rural areas, in particular, communities still lack awareness that pregnant women are in need of special care and that they can be at risk. The 1988 Haceteppe University Institute of Population Studies (HIPS, 1989) survey shows that in rural areas 53% of births occur at home and 35% of births are without health personnel. Also, obstetric techniques in these areas tend to be poor and access to lifesaving health facilities, including blood, are limited.

Fertility

1.16 Fertility has declined significantly in recent years. The Total Fertility Rate (TFR), which is the average number of children that would be born alive to women living to the end of their childbearing years, has fallen from 6.8 in 1960 to 4.0 according to the 1988 HIPS Survey.[4] Nonetheless, this is

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[3] World Bank, WDR (1991).

[4] More recent, but unofficial data show a decline to 3.7 in 1989 (Population Reference Bureau, 1989).

quite high when compared to the middle income countries in general (see Indicators of Women's Development Table above).[2] The TFR for Turkey, however, shows significant regional variation. Specifically, the urban TFR rose from 3.2 in 1983 to 3.8 in 1988 as a result of migration, while the rural TFR fell from 5.1 to 4.4 (HIPS, 1989). Across regions, the variation is even greater (Annex 2, Table 10). The causes of Turkey's continuing high fertility in the rural areas include, inter alia, the perceived economic and social utility of children, the strong preference for sons and the continuing prevalence of cultural and traditional beliefs and values.

1.17 Government's target in the Sixth Five-Year Plan is for a further reduction in the TFR to 3.46 for 1990-94, and is likely to be supported by the seemingly declining fertility aspirations in Turkey. Specifically, the HIPS surveys indicate a decline in the number of "desired" children from just over 3 in 1978 to just over 2 in 1988, with the mean number of children desired not varying significantly by either region or urban/rural residence. In the 1988 survey, 44% of all ever-married women responded that they had more children than their ideal or desired number. The mean number of children desired was found however to increase with the number of living children and the age of the woman and to fall as the educational status of the woman or husband increases.

1.18 To realize the fertility target, Government is endeavoring to increase the acceptance of modern contraceptive methods. Following introduction of the first Family Planning Law in 1965, the percent of exposed women using contraceptives increased rapidly from 22% in 1963 to 77% in 1988. This is one of the highest reported usage rates in the World (WDR, 1991). Nonetheless, a population growth rate of 2.4% suggests a margin for improvement. Specifically, while the use of modern contraceptive methods doubled between 1978 and 1988 to 38% of exposed women, the use of traditional methods also continued to increase and still account for 39% of exposed women (with withdrawal alone in 1988 accounting for 31%). Realization of the fertility target could be aided by strengthening family planning services and, in particular, through a focus on modern methods, the use of languages that would be understood by local inhabitants and increased follow-up and counselling. Studies in Turkey confirm, as in other countries, that increases in child survival rates directly contribute to increased acceptance and continued use of contraceptives. Even more important is the impact of education in reducing fertility and increasing contraceptive use. In addition, studies outside of Turkey indicate that gainful employment opportunities for women show a positive correlation with declines in fertility and that women who work outside the home practice contraception more and have lower fertility than those who work at home. In short, family planning helps women to develop or seize "modern" options - the rationale is not just one of health or demographics.

Nutrition

1.19 While there are few studies on nutrition in Turkey, average caloric intake is sufficiently high (3,200 calories) to suggest that nutrition is a serious health concern only where incomes are low or unstable, or there is inadequate access to social services. Available data, however, provide no basis to determine caloric intake by age and sex and thus there is no basis on which to assume preferential intra-household allocation of food. To the contrary, studies suggest that obesity is a more widespread problem amongst women than men in Turkey (one recent study by Tönük in 1987 concluded that 32% of women and 13% of men are obese).

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[2] Chile 2.6; Colombia 2.9; Mexico 3.4; and Portugal 1.6; (WDR, 1991).

1.20 Limited regional studies (Annex 2) suggest that anemia prevalence in adult women exceeds 40% of the female population in large areas of Turkey and that it is highest in the peak child-bearing (25-34) age group. Studies also show goiter prevalence to be high for women throughout Turkey and that vitamin and mineral deficiency are much more frequent in women than men and particularly for pregnant and lactating women. Iron folate anemia can be effectively treated at low cost with iron and folic acid tablets or iron fortification of salt and other processed foods. Iodine fortification of salt or supplementation with iodized oil is also a low cost and effective treatment for goiter. Distribution of these treatments should be considered through the health care system.

1.21 Breastfeeding of babies in Turkey is almost universal. Both the 1983 and 1988 HIPS surveys show that the percentage of mothers breastfeeding the last child averaged 95% with little variation by region or rural/urban residence, age of mother or education. While the prevalence of breastfeeding is a positive aspect of nutrition, mothers in Turkey are not well informed as to an appropriate diet for infants and often nutrient-poor foods are chosen and prepared under unhygienic conditions.

1.22 Notwithstanding the high caloric intake, the importance of women's nutritional well-being needs emphasis in Turkey. In addition to the distribution of iron and iodine supplements, community education programs can play a crucial role in promoting women's good nutrition as well as that of infants and children.

Adult Health

1.23 Following a decade of adjustment, during which the share of the Government budget for health expenditures fell from just over 3% of GNP to just over 2%, less is known about the prevalence of disease and illness in Turkey for the population as a whole than would be expected for a country at this stage of development. Available studies (Annex 2) suggest a marked difference in gender health problems; for instance, men's health is significantly more likely to be affected by addictives (tobacco, alcohol) than women's. For women, however, little is known about the prevalence of gynecological problems and diseases. In light of the fact that women's health problems affect not only their own well-being but that of their families, critical health needs of women in Turkey include increased availability of health facilities at the local level, dissemination of health information covering hygiene, nutrition (especially for infants and pregnant women) and food preparation.

Health Care System

1.24 With the increased priority accorded to the health sector in the current, Sixth Five-Year Plan (1990-94), quantitative health sector targets are specified for the first time. In addition to a reduction in the TFR to 3.46, the most significant targets are an increase in life expectancy to 68 years (already realized for women) and a reduction in the infant mortality rate from 61 per 1,000 births to 50 by 1994. Amongst government agencies involved in the provision of health services, the Ministry of Health accounts for 51% of services; the Social Security Institution (SSI), 17%; the universities, 13%; and the Ministry of Defense, 12% with the balance provided by the SEEs, municipalities and the private sector, whose role has been encouraged since the Fifth Five-Year Plan (1985-89). There is little coordination of the various institutions involved and the Ministry of Health has only a guiding role. Each agency has its own standards and systems. From the standpoint of designing programs for the sector and addressing constraints, the current system has the disadvantage, inter alia, that there is little comparability in the recording of health data. In fact, statistics on morbidity and mortality are collected only in hospitals and data collection in primary health care facilities is not systematic.

1.25 Limited data on gender utilization of health facilities suggest that 61% of all in-patients are women, but that just over 30% of all in-patients were treated for pregnancy complications, deliveries or abortions. Recent studies (for instance, Ozcebe, 1990) suggest that women of reproductive age use primary health services more than men in the semi-urban areas, but that men use rural health facilities more and account for a much higher proportion of visits to private physicians and dentists. There remains a strong reluctance of women in many regions to visit a male doctor and also of male doctors to treat females. The studies also suggest a positive correlation between educational level and willingness of women to seek professional medical care.

1.26 Little information is available as to the distribution of health personnel by gender. Although women account for 53% of employment in the public health sector (Citci, 1988), women account for only 26% of physicians and tend to be concentrated in the paramedical ranks.

1.27 Given both the projected population growth and the priority currently accorded to the health sector, not only do sector strategy, planning and coordination of resources require greater emphasis in general, but due attention to gender issues is crucial in all aspects of the health sector. As a first step, the establishment of a data base which permits analysis of health issues by gender is essential for sectoral planning and development; simultaneously, the introduction of uniform standards and recording systems for the various agencies involved in the provision of health services is needed. Available studies on the utilization of health facilities suggest that further consideration to the employment of women at all levels in the sector is needed and especially in the planning and administrative processes. The health services need also to consider more closely the social environment in which services are provided. For instance, consideration should be given to establishing gender-balanced health teams (physicians, technicians, nurses and support staff) that can provide services to both sexes and to the employment of social workers/sociologists who can help health workers understand the socio/cultural character of their community. The communication barrier between health provider and recipient is a cause for concern. The development of systems to facilitate communication with the local population is central to addressing women's health issues in the rural areas. To this end, consideration should be given to the use of languages that would be understood by local inhabitants for promotional campaigns, family planning programs and/or the training and assignment of health personnel.

1.28 A woman's health and status are intricately entwined. Improving the health of women requires addressing the social customs and cultural traditions of the region. Programs to improve the health of women need to proceed in the context of improving the overall status of women in the family and community and, in particular, of educating both men and women as to the benefits of addressing women's health concerns.

1.29 The significant regional variation in women's health and fertility indicators suggests the following interventions could further women's participation:

- strengthening *regionally* the delivery of health and family planning services. Family planning services, in particular, could be strengthened through a focus on modern methods, the use of languages that would be understood by local inhabitants and increased follow-up and counselling.

- simultaneously, developing systems to facilitate both the provision of health services in different regional environments and communication with the local population.

- promotion regionally of community education programs for men and women addressing the importance of family planning, maternal care, nutrition, health and hygiene issues;

- strengthen programs to reduce maternal mortality rates including: strengthening the training of midwives, particularly in the rural areas, to improve delivery practices and skills to detect conditions leading to complications; implementing systems of referral (including access to transport to reach district hospitals);

- development of a health sector data base (including personnel), with gender-specific information, to strengthen the health care system and, in particular, to underpin sector planning and research;

- undertaking research, with due consideration to socioeconomic and cultural factors of, inter alia, maternal mortality rates, fertility patterns, utilization of existing health care systems and the continued use of traditional practices with a view to strengthening the family health and family planning programs; and

- the distribution of iron tablets and iodine supplements through the health care system and the immunization of pregnant women for tetanus.

CHAPTER II

WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE

Introduction

2.01 The vital role of women in Turkey's economic development is well recognized by Government. However, to date, there has been little consideration by policy makers as to how to realize women's full integration into the economy. The enhancement of women's capabilities to contribute to a country's development plays a critical role in simultaneously increasing overall economic efficiency and improving the relative economic status of women – there is no "trade-off".

2.02 While both women's market and nonmarket activities are indispensable components in the development process, this chapter focuses on women's labor market activities and participation since 1955 with a view to formulating policy interventions that will not only increase women's contributions to economic development, but enhance their position within the family and society, taking into account changes that the economy will likely undergo in the course of the current decade. In the case of Turkey there has been considerable debate as to what has happened over time to women's labor force participation. This chapter, therefore, addresses in detail the differing statistical sources and the conceptual issues assessing labor market activities with a view to resolving the controversy. By reason of data availability, however, the focus here is expository and descriptive.

2.03 Although labor market activities do not fully capture women's contributions to development, a notable feature of economic growth in almost all countries and in the position of women in society and the household, is the shift of women's work activities from household-based, and generally unpaid, employment (housework, the family farm, or homebased production) to paid employment in a market economy. The economic history of industrialized countries shows a strong association between women's participation in the market economy and economic growth. Moreover, as succinctly put by Nieva (1985, p.164), "the independent financial base provided by employment provides women with an increased sense of competence, gives women more power within marriage, and increases her influence in decision making . . . Couples in which both husband and wife work are more likely to share decisions about major purchases and child rearing."

2.04 At the outset, it is useful to compare Turkey's experience as regards women in the labor market with that of the OECD countries where, for the most part, there has been a strong association between the expansion of the female labor force and economic growth.[9] In the OECD countries, the growth in women's labor force participation is a fairly recent phenomenon, mostly since 1960. Before World War II, female participation rates in the OECD countries were relatively low (15-30%), much lower than those of men (around 85%). The most notable feature of female labor force patterns in the first half of the century, in fact, was how little they changed. Following World War II, most OECD

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[9] Goldin (1991, 1989, 1986, 1983) performed a thorough analysis of the relationship between economic growth in the U.S. and the shift of women's work activities from the home to the labor market. One of the main conclusions is that the emergence of a visible female work force played a significant role in raising income per capita. Between 1890 and 1980, annual national per capita income would have been lower by at least 14% had the female work force not expanded.

countries experienced dramatic changes in the position of women in the labor market - and unprecedented increases in living standards, in part, as a result of the labor force entry of married women.

2.05 In most OECD countries, the participation rate of women now exceeds 50% and continues to rise steadily, while the participation trend of men (which is declining, largely because of longer years of schooling and earlier retirement) is close to intersecting that of women. A constellation of well-known social and economic forces is strongly associated with the propensity of women to enter the work force. These include: sharply declining fertility, increased divorces, later marriages, increased educational attainment reflected in earnings capacity, improvements in the technology of household work, legislative changes, the feminist movement, increased availability of part-time work, urbanization, and changes in the structure of the economy reflected in the rapid growth of the industrial and service sectors and the decline in the importance of agriculture. In essence, the significant rise in women's participation rates in the OECD countries is essentially a post-war phenomenon, mainly concentrated during the last two or three decades, and, as will be discussed below, even later in the southern European OECD countries.

2.06 In contrast, the labor force participation of women in Turkey has declined sharply since the mid-1950s - from almost 70% to 33% in 1990. A participation rate that is not only much lower than that of Turkish men (almost 75% in 1990) but one of the lowest in the OECD. As in most developing countries and at an earlier stage in the industrialized countries, the types of labor force activities that Turkish women pursue differ considerably from that of men: women are less likely than men to work for wages, are employed mostly as agricultural workers, and have lower educational attainments, especially at the post-primary level. Nonetheless, and as will be demonstrated here, the Turkish patterns are similar to the pre-1960s trends in several industrialized OECD countries, and bear a very strong resemblance to the more recent experience of OECD countries in southern Europe.

2.07 The economic efficiency implications (societal rates of return) of gender disparities in a structural adjustment context are straightforward. Essentially, structural adjustment is concerned with the efficient mobilization and inter-sectoral mobility of a country's non-human and human resources. This suggests that the less than full involvement of women in the process reflects a misallocation of human resources. The resulting restriction of output results in an irretrievable deadweight loss to society due to allocative inefficiency, and is likely to act as a strong impediment to the fulfillment of the overall long-term objectives of the structural adjustment strategy. Thus, a review and assessment of the role of women can make an important contribution to both the development process and the status of women. At a minimum, this requires an awareness and understanding of the trends in women's labor force behavior in the Turkish economy. The assessment of these trends and patterns will provide useful information in designing overall labor market initiatives, especially appropriate female-oriented policies and programs.

2.08 Insofar as data permit, this chapter analyzes for the past three decades:

- trends in women's labor force participation;
- patterns of gender segregation in the work place - by employment status, occupation and economic sector;
- hours of work among men and women;
- gender differences in the skill or educational content of the labor force; and
- male-female differentials in earnings and social security coverage.

The analysis makes liberal use of comparisons with men and with other countries. The former provides a clearer indicator of "gender neutrality" and indicates areas for improvement, while the latter comparison of Turkey with several European OECD countries, whose development experiences and structural features are fairly similar, provides an important perspective on future developments in Turkey. The countries selected for the comparison are Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain.[2/]

2.09 The outline of this chapter is as follows: after a discussion and assessment of the available data, the chapter documents nationwide secular trends in labor force participation. Gender segregation in the labor market is then examined followed by urban-rural differences in labor force behavior, hours of work, gender differences in the educational attainment of the labor force, in earnings and social insurance coverage. Based on the main findings, the concluding section proposes proactive policy responses that would further women's integration in the economy.

2.10 The main conclusions of the chapter are as follows:

- The *sharp decline in female labor force participation* in Turkey - from almost 70% in 1955 to 33% in 1990 - is fully consistent with the widely-documented U-shaped relationship between economic development and female participation observed in the OECD countries since World War II, and where female labor force participation now exceeds 50% (paras. 2.13-19). A comparison of the participation pattern in Turkey with that of four southern European OECD countries suggests that Turkey is likely to experience a secular upturn in female participation. Policy initiatives focusing on women's participation in non-traditional activities will be needed to support this upturn.

- The *work force in Turkey is markedly segregated by gender*, especially in urban areas, where people tend to have higher educational attainments and wider employment opportunities. To a large extent, Turkish women work in different occupations and industries than men, and have a different worker status. In 1990, approximately 74% of women employed in the labor force worked in agriculture, 7% in industry and 12% in services, while men are more evenly distributed across sectors - 34% in agriculture, 24% in industry and 38% in services. As to employment status, 68% of women in the labor force were unpaid family workers and 25% were wage earners or self-employed, compared to 14% of men who were unpaid and 82% who were wage earners or self-employed. Analysis of data by occupation show women concentrated in the lower occupational categories and performing work closely related to their traditional household duties. While the gender segregation is similar to that observed in OECD countries, it is more intense, and as the experience of the OECD countries has shown, will be difficult to alleviate without policy intervention focusing on, inter alia, education and training, the introduction of employment equity programs and repeal of discriminatory protective legislation (paras. 2.22-32).

[2/] Greece joined the EEC in 1981; Spain and Portugal in 1986, and Italy was a founding member. These countries were chosen, rather than other middle income countries such as Chile, Colombia, Hungary, Poland, or Venezuela because Turkey is in the same geographical vicinity, a member of the OECD and a candidate for the EC.

- And third, in addition to the potential increase in participation, *there are major policy concerns regarding the "stock" of women in the labor force.* Analysis of the gender segregation indices indicates that, the impact of the increasingly educated female labor force has not been reflected in the labor markets, although this will be largely a matter of time (paras. 2.44-52). For instance in 1990, 50% of the urban female labor force but only 5% of the rural female labor force had more than a primary school education. Currently the educational level of the rural women will constrain their labor force participation, regardless of the availability of employment opportunities.[1] Based on current enrollment rates, the proportion of rural women with more than a primary school education will be significantly higher a decade from now, as will be their employment expectations. This underlines the need for policy measures designed to promote the employment of women in higher productivity jobs in both urban and rural areas.

Specifically, in 1990, rural female participation was 51% compared to 15% for urban females. Thus, and while some 60% of Turkey's population lives in urban areas, 77% of the female labor force live in rural areas (paras. 2.33-34). Also, *age, education and marital patterns differ markedly by urban-rural areas.* For instance, in rural areas, female participation shows a mild M-shape, with participation remaining high until age 60, whereas the urban profile peaks at age 20-24 and declines steadily thereafter. The M-shaped female profile was found in most OECD countries during the 1960's and 1970's but has subsequently been replaced by the male bell-shape, which is observed in both rural and urban areas for Turkish males. These differences are extremely significant for the design of policy measures, not only for women's employment but for regional development, in the context of continuing urbanization and industrialization.

Closely related to the issue of urban-rural differences is that of *interregional disparities.* Turkey, the fourth largest country in the OECD, has an uneven spatial distribution of its population and economic activities. These issues have been discussed in detail in two recent reports by the OECD (1988) and UNICEF (1991). The main conclusions reached by these studies are that the provinces in the eastern region of Turkey are seriously disadvantaged in terms of public services, (e.g. education, health, transportation, water), actual and potential industrial production, as well as agricultural output. These disparities give rise to wide regional differences in educational attainment, fertility, mortality, employment opportunities and per capita

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[1] Although hard evidence is not available, it appears that following migration to urban areas, these women resume their customary role as unpaid family workers, but in a different setting - homebased production. Unfortunately, very little is known about the work activities and well-being of Turkish women who migrate from the rural areas. According to Abadan-Unat (1986) the work situation of "gecekondu" women differs from those of their counterparts in Latin American "favelas" or "pueblos jovenes". While Latin American women are visibly engaged in the vibrant informal retail trade sectors (vending, street selling, and peddling), Turkish women are conspicuous by their absence in these activities, as well as domestic work in private homes. Moreover, fragmentary evidence suggests "gecekondu" women, who are often resettled from small villages and farms, respond to the difficult transitions to urban life by withdrawing from the urban labor market. This phenomenon, no doubt, contributes to the low labor force participation rates that are observed in urban areas, especially among women with low educational attainments. Similarly, little is known about the "returning migrant" women from Europe, who may well serve as a catalyst in the villages and towns. Research into these issues, including, in particular, the services and informal sectors, is essential.

income, underscoring the need for policy initiatives designed to reduce inter-regional disparities to also address gender issues.

Additional findings are that:

- The *number of hours worked by employed women,* which is in addition to household chores and childcare responsibilities, is high in Turkey. Employed women on average work 43 hours per week compared to 50 hours for men. The large amount of time devoted to market work partly explains their low participation rates, especially in urban areas. Inevitably, the competing demands of household responsibilities and market work may simply discourage women from entering the labor force.

- *Wage data* are available only for the small proportion (6%) of the female labor force covered by social insurance. A meaningful analysis of gender wage differentials is therefore not possible. Release of the LFS wage data would be a useful first step to remedy this deficiency.

- The data on the educational attainment of the labor force suggest that *the gender gap in education has narrowed significantly during the past 20 years.* The following considerations, however, should be born in mind. First, prior to the late 1980s the available education information is only for labor force participants, and thus excludes a high proportion of women who are nonparticipants, especially in urban areas. Second, there are pronounced differences between urban and rural areas as regards women's educational attainments. In rural areas, where 5% of the female labor force has more than primary schooling, education has currently little impact on participation since most women are unpaid family workers. By contrast, in urban areas where 50% of the labor force has more than primary schooling, education has a strong impact on participation. Third, in 1990 women accounted for almost two-thirds of the total labor force that is illiterate.

Labor Force Data: Sources and Issues

2.11 Statistics on women's labor force behavior in developing countries, in general, are plagued by conceptual problems and inadequate data collection methods. It is also increasingly recognized that conventional statistics tend to undercount the number of working women and their contributions to economic activity because of problems inherent in the definition of "economically active" population, the designation of "meaningful economic activity", and the implementation and timing of surveys or censuses. These shortcomings should be borne in mind when considering the patterns presented below.[2/] In Turkey it appears that until recently, the development of a reliable labor market

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[2/] Boulding (1983), Mueller (1983), Nuss (1989) and Standing (1978) provide excellent reviews of the limitations of official data collection systems in appropriately reporting women's contributions to the economy. A main source of the difficulties is that the data collection methodologies are often incompatible with women's work roles in the household and in the market. A particularly serious issue is the unreliable assessment of women's activities in the "informal" sector and as unpaid family workers, especially in agriculture. Existing instruments of data collection reveal little about the time which women devote to economic activities vis-à-vis their household responsibilities. Even less is known about their monetary worth. See also UN (1991) for a summary of estimates with housework included in the National Accounts for a number of industrialized and developing countries.

information system was a low priority when compared to data needs concerning population characteristics, international trade, national income and other macro indicators. The historical labor market data series are incomplete and unreliable: a careful examination of labor market and related data published by the ILO, the OECD and the Government of Turkey, revealed serious omissions and inconsistencies through the late 1980s, when the nationwide Household Labor Force Surveys were first implemented. In addition, the historical series provide only partial labor supply measures. Specifically they do not indicate hours of work, or even the extent of full- and part-time work among the employed. The amount of time devoted to work is an important dimension of labor supply behavior and particularly of women's work.

2.12 The analysis here is based primarily on two sources of data from the State Institute of Statistics (SIS): census data for the period 1955-1985; and for 1988-1990, the published compilations of the Household Labor Force Surveys (LFS).[10/] The latter provide more comprehensive and consistent coverage of various aspects of men's and women's work activities, including hours of work, than does the census data. It should be noted at the outset that there are significant discrepancies between all of

DATA FOR 1985 FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES

	CENSUS	ILO	LFS	OECD
Total				
Population ('000)	50,664	50,664	50,959	50,664
Labor Force ('000)	21,580	21,580	18,203	17,894
Participation Rate	42.6%	42.6%	35.7%	35.3%
Men				
Population ('000)	25,672	25,672	25,685	25,782
Labor Force ('000)	13,933	13,933	12,712	11,550
Participation Rate	54.3%	54.3%	49.5%	44.8%
Women				
Population ('000)	24,992	24,992	25,274	24,882
Labor Force ('000)	7,647	7,647	5,491	6,344
Participation Rate	30.6%	30.6%	21.7%	25.5%

the data sources.[11/] These discrepancies are partially attributable to differences in statistical definitions, measurement of the labor force and the population count (Annex 3). Defining the participation rate as the labor force (12 years and over, the age of eligibility to work in Turkey since 1970), the 1985 participation rates summarized below, serve to illustrate the problem.

[10/] In addition to the State Institute of Statistics, agencies providing labor force related data in Turkey are the State Planning Organization (SPO), the Turkish Employment Organization (IIBK) and the Social Insurance Institution (SII). The historical Turkish data are reproduced with appropriate corrections and adjustments in various publications of the ILO and the OECD. For reasons illustrated above, the analysis here relies more heavily on these sources for the period prior to 1988 than on the original Turkish Census data. Data contained in Durand (1975) are also used for 1955 and 1965.

[11/] The Census and the ILO data agree, however, for all years, except 1965. The ILO reports a labor force of 12,993,245 (7,697,483 men and 5,295,762 women), while the 1965 Census shows a labor force of 13,557,680 (8,420,829 men and 5,137,031 women). The population counts are the same in the two sources - 15,996,964 men and 15,394,457 women. If one uses the Census data, the 1965 female participation rate is 37.8% compared to 39.0% from ILO data. Attempts to reconcile the two sets of numbers proved futile.

Trends and Patterns in Labor Force Participation

2.13 This section reviews the secular patterns of labor force participation in Turkey since 1955. As noted above, these patterns appear to follow those observed in both OECD and the more industrialized developing countries. Namely, that in the process of development female participation rates initially decrease and then increase with industrialization and that education plays a pivotal role in increasing women's participation rates.[12/]

Aggregate Participation Trends

2.14 Table 2.1 and Chart 2.1 show the labor force magnitudes and labor force participation rates for 1955-1990[13/] as reported in the Censuses (1955-1985) and the Labor Force Surveys (1988-1990). The overall participation rates of both men and women in Turkey have declined during the past three decades, but much more so for women - from 69% to 33%. This rate is in line with developing country female participation rates but well-below the OECD rates of 50% or more. The downward trend in the female rate is to be expected in a country that is undergoing a transformation from a primarily agricultural to an industrial urban economy. Some of the decline in participation rates may be attributed to social change, not least of which is rising school attendance and educational opportunities.[14/] Sectoral changes in the economy, however, are also a significant factor and, in particular, the agricultural sector which has been the traditional source of employment for Turkish women, albeit as "unpaid" family workers. While agriculture remains important to the Turkish economy, its importance in GDP and to employment (especially of men) has declined significantly during the past 30 years. The steady decline of agriculture does not necessarily imply that suitable employment opportunities open up for women in the expanding industrial and services sectors, located mostly in urban areas - at least not immediately and not without an appropriate incentive structure.

2.15 The declining trend in female labor force participation in Turkey, is entirely consistent with the widely documented U-shaped relationship between economic development (industrialization) and female participation rates that has been observed in most of the OECD countries and a growing number of the more industrialized developing countries.[15/] The key element in the U-shaped pattern reflects

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12/ These are the conclusions of Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos (1989), using data from 136 countries in the early 1980s. They also provide a thorough discussion of the conceptual and statistical limitations of the labor force participation rate, especially of women.

13/ Data from the 1950 census are excluded because, according to Durand (1975), the methodology and definitions used are substantially different from those of later censuses. Also, it appears that there are errors in the 1965 Census, which resulted in statistical anomalies. See, for example, Tables 2.5 and 2.6. The table and chart present participation rates normalized in different ways using an eligibility age of 12 years for 1970-1990 and one of 15 years for 1955-1965, following official Turkish definitions.

14/ Illiteracy rates for women fell from 74% in 1955 to 32% in 1985 and to 30% in 1990; the corresponding values for men are 44%, 13%, and 10%.

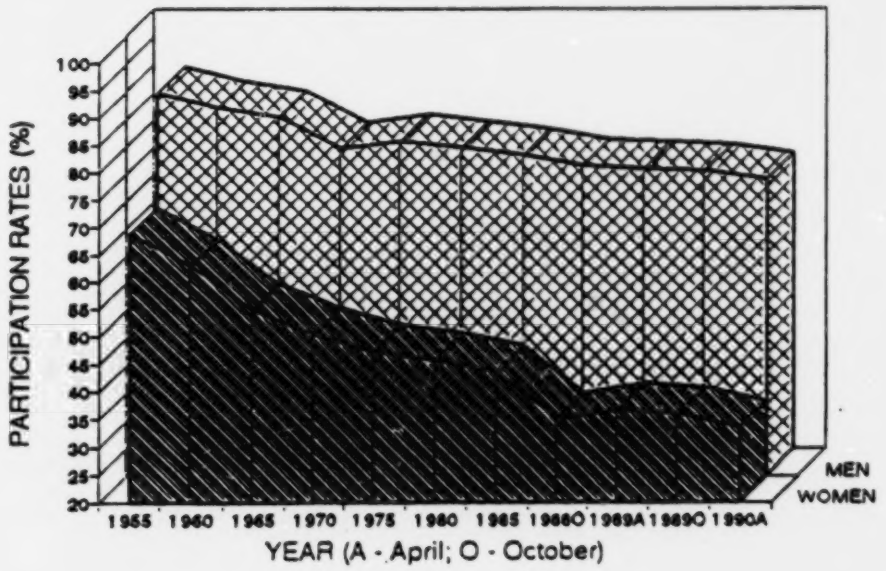
15/ Durand (1975) was probably the first to hypothesize the relationship between development and female participation in a cross-national context, and find some support for it. Using more sophisticated empirical techniques and cross-section international data, Pampel and Tanaka (1986) found strong support for the curvilinear relationship. Recent studies by Kottis (1990) on Greece and by Presser and Kishon (1991) on Puerto Rico add more convincing evidence for the U-shaped form, as does the study by Psacharopolous and Tzannatos (1989) which uses data on 136 countries in the early 1980s. Sorrentino (1983) also provides data supporting the U-shaped pattern for Italy and Japan.

TABLE 2.1 TRENDS IN LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION BY GENDER
(Eligibility Age is 12 Years, 1970-90; 15 Years, 1955-65)

	MEN				WOMEN			
YEAR	LABOR FORCE '000	AS % OF MALE POPULATION 12+	15-64	TOTAL	LABOR FORCE '000	AS % OF FEMALE POPULATION 12+	15-64	TOTAL
1955	6944	89.6	99.7	56.8	5262	68.9	77.3	44.5
1960	7697	87.0	98.2	54.3	5296	62.8	68.3	39.0
1965	8472	85.2	98.1	53.0	5141	54.8	61.5	33.4
1970	9306	79.5	96.3	51.7	5813	50.3	61.2	33.0
1975	11180	80.9	97.9	53.9	6204	47.3	57.7	31.7
1980	12284	79.8	96.3	54.1	6928	45.8	55.8	31.4
1985	13933	78.3	93.3	54.3	7647	43.6	52.4	30.6
1988O	14083	76.5	91.0	52.3	6534	34.9	41.2	24.5
1989A	14175	76.0	90.6	54.1	6941	36.6	43.3	25.6
1989O	14253	75.4	90.6	51.7	6923	36.0	42.7	25.2
1990A	14165	73.9	88.5	50.7	6486	33.4	39.3	23.3

Sources: 1955-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics, ILO; 1988-1990, Household Labor Force Surveys, SIS
Notes: O - October; A - April

CHART 2.1 PARTICIPATION RATES BY GENDER
LABOR FORCE / POPULATION 12 +



structural changes in the economy accompanied, inevitably by other social transformations (for instance, internal migration, urbanization, lower fertility rates, less stable family and kinship systems and higher educational attainment). As the locus of economic activity shifts from the family farm and homebased production into market-oriented industrial and service activities, there are significant changes in labor-demand requirements, reflected in employment opportunities and in their location - in urban areas. During the early phases of the process, there is often a "discouraged worker" effect and reported participation rates fall, especially among women, who were active as unpaid workers in agriculture and traditional nonagricultural activities. Moreover, women may also withdraw from the labor force into areas of employment which are not well enumerated by the official statistics, mainly seasonal work and homebased non-farm production.

2.16 At least two additional factors contribute to the labor force withdrawal by women. First, increased mechanization in agriculture reduces the employment of both men and women, but mostly women. Second, in the growing industrial and services sectors, women are at a disadvantage in competition with men for jobs because they generally have lower, or different, educational attainments and labor force qualifications, are constrained by family, tradition and culture, and compete with men who are more mobile and either unemployed or underemployed. As the nonagricultural sectors expand, the declining trend in male and female participation rates is arrested and then reversed. There is an increase in demand (higher wages) first for male workers, followed by that for female workers, especially in the service sectors. The rise in wages increases the propensity of women to enter the labor force which, in turn, is reflected in steadily rising participation rates. The labor force entry of women is further encouraged by declining fertility and smaller household sizes, increased educational attainment, urbanization, and changes in societal attitudes towards women who perform paid market work. Also, the character and substance of government policies can play a pivotal role in influencing women's labor force behavior.

2.17 Finally, it is noted that it takes varying amounts of time for the U-shaped trend to materialize. In some countries the pattern emerges after three or more decades while in others it is telescoped into a comparatively short period of 20 years. Sorrentino (1983), in a nine-country comparison for the period 1960-81, observed a strong and sustained increase in female participation rates in Australia, Canada, Sweden, the US, and the UK since 1960. Participation rates in Germany, France, Italy, and Japan declined until the 1970s and then increased in the early 1970s in France and Italy, and the late 1970s in Germany and Japan. Greece, Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain appear to be "stage two" candidates for the 1980s.

2.18 The historical behavior of female participation rates in Turkey suggests it is likely to become a "stage-two" candidate beginning in this decade - particularly if accompanied by appropriate female-oriented policy initiatives. To see how this may develop, secular patterns in the southern European OECD comparator countries - Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain - were examined for the period 1950-1989. While there are many differences among the four countries, they also share a number of common characteristics: in comparison to other OECD countries, they are latecomers to industrialization and to export-led development. This shift in economic structure - as well as enactments of EC directives that promote gender equality - contributed to the comparatively late growth in female participation, reversing a trend which was falling, or flat, until the 1970s and 1980s. As expected, the rising trends in participation rates were accompanied by increased urbanization and educational attainment and by

declines in fertility.[18] Table 2.2 and Chart 2.2 suggest that the pattern of Turkish female participation rates is not markedly different from the recent historical experience of the comparators.

2.19 The available labor force survey data do not permit an analysis of female labor force participation in relation to background family characteristics, such as marital status and the number of children, while data from other sources provide essentially no information on the labor force behavior of married women. Although the Household Labor Force Surveys collect this information, the data are not made available. Nonetheless, it is useful to note that a high proportion of the female population aged 15 years and older is married. Between 1955 and 1965 just over 70% were married whereas between 1980 and 1985 just under 70% were married. According to the 1990 Household Labor Force Survey, 68% of the female population is married, wives comprise 65% of the female labor force 15 years and older and the participation rate of married women is about 33%. There is, however, an important difference between urban and rural areas, which can best be seen from the summary data on married women below.

	Rural	Urban (%)	Total
Residence of FLF	77	23	100
Wives in FLF	70	50	65
Participation Rate of Married Women	53	12	33

While the data on marital status of women in the labor force are incomplete, they nonetheless indicate that the trends examined in this chapter relate largely to married women, but also that there are significant urban-rural differences in the participation of married women that need to be addressed in terms of policy interventions, and specifically relating to visible urban employment, flexible formal employment and childcare.

Participation Patterns by Age Structure

2.20 A fuller picture of trends in male and female participation rates is gained by disaggregating by age groups. Table 2.3 and Chart 2.3 display the cross-section age profiles of participation of men and women between 1955-1990. Reflecting a combination of both life-cycle effects and time trends, both the male and female profiles have shifted downward over the past three decades, and have been transformed, markedly so for women. For the 1980-90 period, the male pattern assumed a bell or inverted-U shape, while the female pattern assumed a (mild) twin-peak or M-shape. The age profiles of women in recent years show that participation rates rise steadily among teenagers and young women (20-24) as they leave school and enter the labor force, decline during the 25-34 age interval because of marriage and childbearing rise between 35 and 50 as women are less burdened by young children. After age 50 the rate falls steadily. The male profiles tell a different story. The participation rate rises steadily through the twenties, as boys complete their education, peaks in the 35-39 age group and as with females, decline sharply after age 50.

[18] Larre and Torres (1991) present an analysis of the experiences of Greece, Portugal and Spain as regards their catch-up and convergence possibilities.

TABLE 2.2 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES IN TURKEY AND COMAPARTOR OECD COUNTRIES, 1950-1989.
(FEMALE LABOR FORCE / FEMALE POPULATION)

YEAR	TURKEY	GREECE	ITALY	PORTUGAL	SPAIN
1950	44.5		21.7	16.8	11.8
1960	39.0	27.8	19.5	13.1	13.5
1970	33.0	20.2	19.6	19.0	13.3
1980	31.4	19.3	26.7	29.0	16.5
1985	30.6	27.3	28.2	37.4	21.2
1988	25.0	28.7	30.2	38.6	25.6
1989	24.9	28.7	30.4	39.1	26.1

Sources: 1950-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics, ILO; 1988-1989, Historical Statistics, 1960-1989, OECD.
Notes: The 1950 value for Turkey refers to 1955.

CHART 2.2 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES
BY COUNTRY

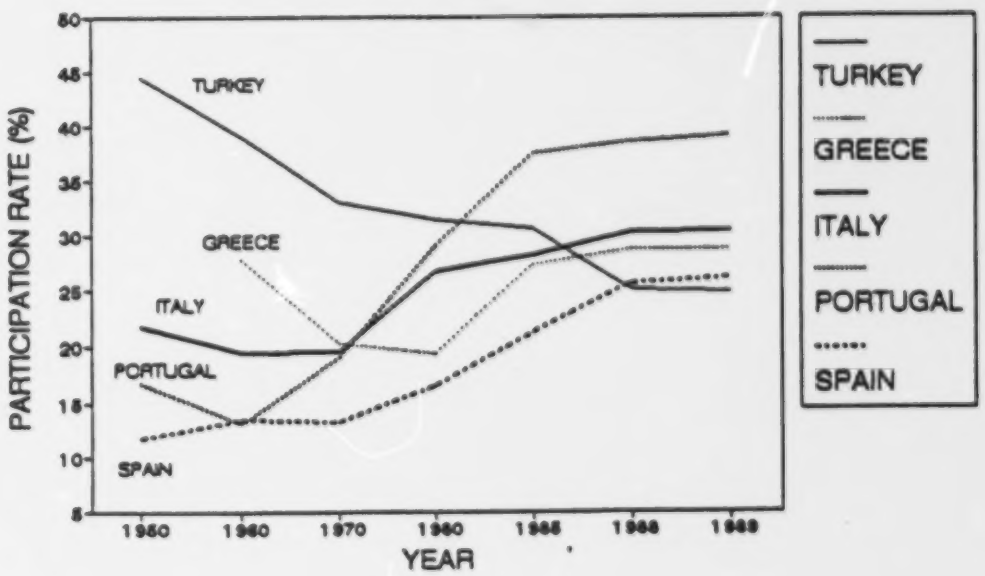


TABLE 2.3 PARTICIPATION RATES BY GENDER AND AGE GROUPS

FEMALES						
AGE	1955	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990
12-14	0.0	0.0	45.0	42.3	38.1	21.0
15-19	74.4	66.2	54.4	51.8	48.0	40.0
20-24	73.4	65.8	53.1	49.5	48.2	46.3
25-29	72.5	66.6	51.9	44.7	43.4	36.3
30-34	72.0	65.2	50.9	44.8	42.3	36.2
35-39	71.9	63.3	50.3	47.9	43.3	37.7
40-44	73.5	68.5	53.7	49.4	46.2	38.8
45-49	71.4	64.5	52.9	50.5	46.8	36.5
50-54	73.9	68.2	53.6	49.5	46.2	33.5
55-59	67.7	62.5	50.0	47.0	44.9	30.8
60-64	71.1	66.8	47.6	43.7	39.8	21.3
65 +	63.4	60.0	35.1	23.8	23.2	9.0
ALL	68.9	62.8	50.3	45.8	43.6	33.4

Source: 1955-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics, ILO; 1990, Household Labor Force Survey, SIS.

MALES						
AGE	1955	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990
12-14	0.0	0.0	38.9	42.4	38.1	25.3
15-19	86.0	78.9	63.6	69.4	68.1	60.1
20-24	96.1	94.3	85.3	90.6	90.2	88.2
25-29	97.7	97.4	93.1	96.6	96.5	96.7
30-34	98.3	98.2	94.9	97.7	97.4	98.0
35-39	98.6	98.4	95.0	97.8	97.2	97.8
40-44	98.6	98.4	95.0	95.8	93.7	95.8
45-49	98.6	98.3	94.9	92.6	87.1	90.1
50-54	97.9	97.9	91.9	86.0	80.0	78.0
55-59	96.4	96.8	88.0	78.8	72.2	67.5
60-64	93.8	94.0	83.0	69.1	63.0	53.9
65 +	86.7	85.6	67.8	44.3	41.7	29.6
ALL	89.6	85.2	79.5	79.8	78.3	73.9

CHART 2.3 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES
BY AGE GROUPS

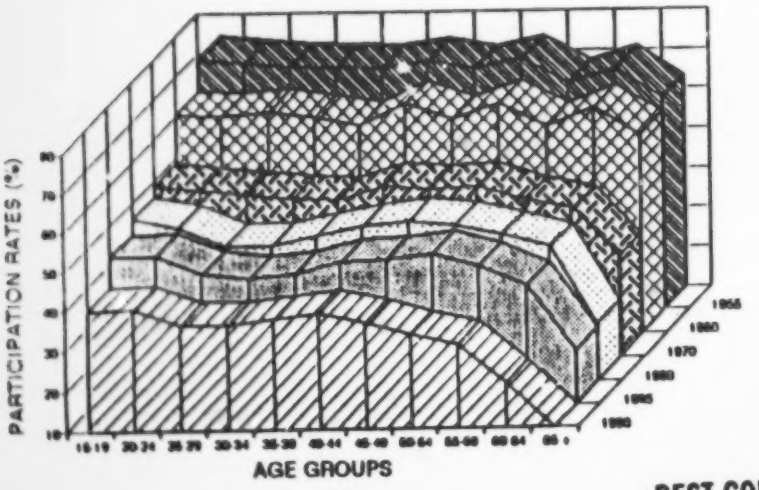
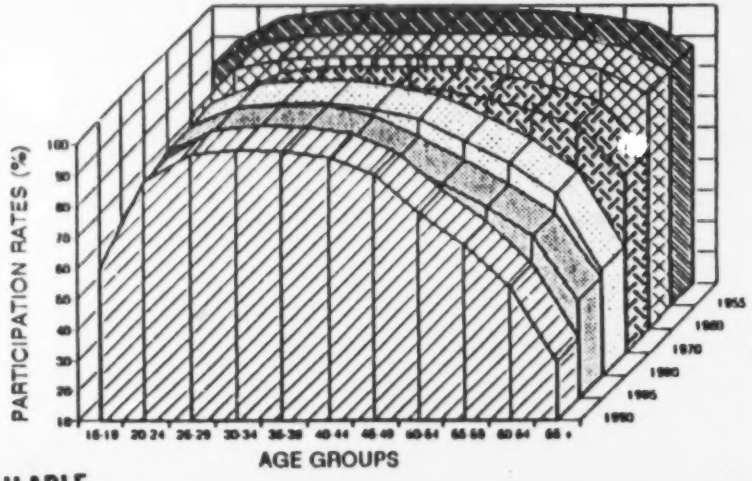


CHART 2.3 MALE PARTICIPATION RATES
BY AGE GROUPS



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2.21 The observed effects of age on labor force participation rates in Turkey since 1955 are consistent with patterns found in most OECD countries at a similar stage of development. Specifically, the profiles observed in the 1980s resemble those of many of the OECD countries during the 1960s and 1970s. However, more recently in the OECD countries, the twin-peaked female profiles have been replaced by patterns resembling the bell shape profiles of men.[17]

Gender Segregation in the Labor Force

2.22 The economic status of women is influenced not only by their labor force participation, but also by the types of market work they perform and how much they earn. As this section will demonstrate, the work force in Turkey is markedly segregated and less than a third of women workers receive monetary payments. The gender differences in worker status, occupational, and sectoral distributions are also very striking. What is perhaps more remarkable, is how little they have changed over time. In short, since 1955 women workers have remained concentrated in the unpaid family worker category (two-thirds) and usually in agriculture (three-quarters). The gender segregation issues are examined by first discussing how segregation may be measured, and then by considering male-female disparities by worker status, occupation, and economic sector, or industry (Tables 2.4-2.6). The tables reveal several important trends in the gender composition of work, worker status, occupation and industry. They also show a strong and persistent imbalance in the types of labor force activities pursued by men and women.

Measures of Gender Segregation

2.23 To obtain an idea of the trend in segregation during the past 30 years, Tables 2.4-2.6 include two summary indices (expressed as percentages): the Duncan or, "dissimilarity", index (DI) and the "women and employment" index (WE).[18] The Duncan index shows the percent of women (or men) who would have to change jobs in order to eliminate gender differences in the distributions. The DI index has a range of 0%, when there is no gender segregation to 100%, when there is complete segregation in the sense that each category (workers status, occupation or sector) is entirely filled by men or women. The less familiar WE index varies with the distribution of total labor force and the distribution of women among categories. It shows twice the minimum proportion of women who would have to change jobs with men to eliminate segregation, taking into account female representation in the total labor force. WE has a minimum of 0% when there is no segregation (DI = 0%). If there is gender segregation (DI > 0), the value of WE increases with the male share of the work force; its maximum value approaches 200% when the DI equals 100% and the labor force consists of any number of men and only one woman: the higher the share of women in the labor force, the smaller the percent of women that would have to change jobs in order to remove gender segregation. In general, the DI and WE measures of dissimilarity may be interpreted as follows: the higher the value the greater the degree of gender segregation.

---

[17] See OECD (1989, 1985, 1975), and Sorrentino (1983).

[18] The dissimilarity or Duncan index is fairly common in the literature, while the WE index was presented in an OECD report on Women and Employment in 1980. For details see Duncan and Duncan (1955) and OECD (1985).

2.24 The formulae for the indices are as follows:

Let: F_i = the number of females in category i;
F = the total number of females in the work force;
M_i = the number of males in category i;
M = the total number of males in the work force;
T_i = the number of persons in category i;
T = the total number of people in the work force.

$$DI = 100 \times \Sigma^i \mid F_i/F - M_i/M \mid /2; \quad i = 1...n.$$

$$WE = 100 \times \Sigma^i \mid F_i/F - T_i/T \mid; \quad i = 1...n.$$

The relation between the two indices is: $WE = (M_i/T) \times (2 \times DI)$, so that the WE index is the male proportion in the work force multiplied by twice the DI index.

2.25 The indices, which are calculated from data provided by the ILO (1990) and the 1990 Labor Force Survey, are based on one-digit classifications for occupation and industry. For the period 1970-1990, these classifications strictly conform to the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) and Industries (ISCI), while for 1965 minor adjustments were made to the data, so that they would conform to the ISCO and ISCI format. It should be noted that the index values reported here *understate* the extent of gender segregation because they are based on broad (one-digit) definitions of occupational and industrial categories. More narrowly-defined classifications – in terms of, say, tasks would result in higher magnitudes of gender segregation.[19]

Gender Composition of Work Categories

2.26 As seen in Table 2.4 below, the share of women in the total labor force declined steadily from 41% in 1960 to 31% in 1990. It is noteworthy that, over the same period, the female proportion of unpaid family workers fell from 75% to just under 70%, while that of wage earners rose from only 11% to 16%, indicating that unpaid family workers remain largely women, while wages earners remain mainly men. As regards self-employment, which includes both own-account workers and employers, the small female representation has changed little over time (7-10%).[20]

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[19] By way of clarification, the terms "gender composition" or "gender representation" refer to the proportion of women (or men) in a given work category, say in the clerical occupation. By the term "segregation" we mean a noticeable imbalance in the male and female distributions across work categories, for example, *all* occupations.

[20] Historically, the proportion of employers among the self-employed has been relatively small for both men and women. But, the number of women who are employers is negligible in comparison to men. The 1990 Labor Force Survey shows that there were 665,042 men who were employers (13% of the male self-employed), but 12,313 women (3% of the female self-employed), so that the representation of women among employers is negligible - less than 2%. In 1980 there were 7,218 female employers (2% of the self-employed) versus 169,241 men (4% of the self-employed), while in 1960 there were 5,569 female employers (1.5% of the female self-employed) compared to 150,539 male employers (4% of the self-employed). See Yayan (1984).

TABLE 2.4 DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE BY WORKER STATUS AND GENDER, 1960-90

	1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
WORKER STATUS						('000)								
TOTAL	7887	5[illegible]	8472	5141	9309	5813	11180	6204	12284	6829	13833	7847	14165	6486
% female		41		38		38		36		36		35		31
SELF-EMPLOYED	3468	371	3877	150	3745	397	4008	302	4123	331	4493	382	5197	377
% female		10		4		10		7		7		7		7
EMPLOYEE	2177	360	2755	306	3578	586	4510	677	5218	846	3906	1072	6396	1211
% female		11		10		14		16		15		15		16
UNPAID WORKER	1561	4680	1739	4682	1984	4820	2649	5022	2324	5536	2683	6056	2006	4438
% female		75		73		71		65		70		69		69
UNKNOWN	481	5	101	4	0	0	13	4	621	116	670	155	567	460
% female		1		4		0		24		16		15		45

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE BY WORKER STATUS

	1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
WORKER STATUS														
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
SELF-EMPLOYED	44.1	7.0	45.8	2.9	40.2	6.8	36.8	4.9	33.6	4.8	32.3	4.7	36.7	5.8
EMPLOYEE	28.3	4.9	32.5	5.9	38.4	10.2	40.3	14.1	42.5	13.7	42.4	14.0	45.2	18.7
UNPAID WORKER	20.3	88.0	20.5	91.1	21.3	82.9	23.7	80.9	18.9	79.9	19.1	79.2	14.2	68.4
UNKNOWN	6.4	0.1	1.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	5.1	1.7	4.2	2.0	4.0	7.1
DI INDEX		67.7		70.5		61.6		57.2		61.0		60.1		57.4
WE INDEX		80.2		87.9		78.8		73.6		78.0		77.6		78.7

Sources: For 1955-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics (1990), ILO; for 1990, Household Labor Force Survey, SIS.
Notes: The 'unknown' category includes first time job seekers. DI is the Dissimilarity Index; WE is the Women and Employment Index. See text for description.

2.27 The representation of women within occupations and economic sectors (Tables 2.5 and 2.6), however, reveal diverging patterns; namely the female share of agricultural workers remained essentially constant; the proportion of women in professional occupations rose steadily (from 21% in 1965 to almost 30% in 1990); the share of women among service workers almost doubled (from 7% in 1965 to 12% in 1990) and that of clerical and sales workers also increased dramatically. The share of women in managerial and administrative occupations, however, remained unchanged[21/] - at about 6% between 1970 and 1990 - as did that of women among production workers - about 8%-10% over the period.

2.28 As regards female presence in different economic sectors (Table 2.6), significant increases are found only in women's share in the manufacturing and services sectors (both business and personal services). Women's share in trade, transport, mining and construction remained low throughout.

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21/ In 1965, clerical workers are included in the "administrative" category.

TABLE 2.5 DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION AND GENDER, 1965-90.

	1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
OCCUPATIONAL GROUP						('000)						
TOTAL	8472	5141	9308	5813	11180	6204	12284	6928	13933	7647	14165	6486
% female		38		38		36		36		35		31
PROFESSIONAL	236	62	415	140	468	173	585	255	714	298	830	328
% female		21		25		27		30		29		28
ADMINISTRATIVE	305	48	80	5	71	4	149	8	158	10	306	15
% female		13		6		6		5		6		5
CLERICAL	0	0	273	73	401	133	438	211	496	236	678	419
% female		0		21		25		32		32		38
SALES	375	5	446	17	538	34	757	34	921	57	1426	113
% female		1		4		6		4		6		7
SERVICE	442	33	510	47	528	56	847	67	1023	88	1488	252
% female		7		8		10		7		8		14
AGRICULTURE	4903	4836	4949	5153	5905	5430	5123	5932	5606	6464	4813	4906
% female		50		51		48		54		54		50
PRODUCTION	1690	156	1106	262	3270	375	3777	305	4140	340	4512	525
% female		8		19		10		7		8		10
UNKNOWN	520	4	1526	116	0	0	607	116	875	155	115	28
% female		1		7		0		16		15		20

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION

	1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
OCCUPATIONAL GROUP												
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PROFESSIONAL	2.8	1.2	4.5	2.4	4.2	2.8	4.8	3.7	5.1	3.9	5.9	5.1
ADMINISTRATIVE	3.6	0.9	0.9	0.1	0.6	0.1	1.2	0.1	1.1	0.1	2.2	0.2
CLERICAL	0.0	0.0	2.9	1.3	3.6	2.1	3.6	3.0	3.6	3.1	4.8	6.5
SALES	4.4	0.1	4.8	0.3	4.8	0.5	6.2	0.5	6.6	0.7	10.1	1.7
SERVICE	5.2	0.6	5.5	0.8	4.7	0.9	6.9	1.0	7.3	1.2	10.5	3.9
AGRICULTURE	57.9	94.1	53.2	88.6	52.8	87.5	41.7	85.6	40.2	84.5	34.0	74.1
PRODUCTION	20.0	3.0	11.9	4.5	29.3	6.0	30.7	4.4	29.7	4.4	31.9	8.1
UNKNOWN	6.1	0.1	16.4	2.0	0.0	0.0	4.9	1.7	6.3	2.0	0.8	0.4
DI INDEX		36.2		35.5		34.7		43.9		44.3		41.8
WE INDEX		45.0		43.7		44.6		56.2		57.2		57.3

Sources: For 1965-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics (1990), ILO; for 1990, Household Labor Force Survey, SIS.
Notes: 'Professional' includes technical & related; 'Administrative' includes managerial, and in 1965 clerical; 'Production' includes transport equipment. 'Unknown' includes first time job seekers. DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

TABLE 2.6 DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE BY ECONOMIC SECTOR AND GENDER, 1965-90.

	1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
ECONOMIC SECTOR						000's						
TOTAL	8472	5141	9308	5813	11180	6204	12284	6928	13833	7647	14185	6488
% female		38		38		36		36		35		31
AGRICULTURE	4879	4886	5031	5200	6210	5484	5156	5949	5634	6484	4884	4802
% female		50		51		47		54		54		50
MINING	84	1	107	4	110	1	131	1	135	2	177	2
% female		1		4		1		1		1		1
MANUFACTURING	866	75	996	290	1200	257	1672	304	1853	332	2177	437
% female		8		23		18		15		15		17
UTILITIES	26	0	14	1	18	2	31	2	22	1	41	0
% female		1		6		12		6		5		0
CONSTRUCTION	352	1	422	9	527	5	760	5	744	7	979	18
% female		0		2		1		1		1		2
TRADE	384	21	646	27	757	47	1034	50	1301	82	2008	145
% female		5		4		6		5		6		7
TRANSPORTATION	278	6	344	16	483	18	505	26	585	31	774	34
% female		2		4		4		5		5		4
BUSINESS SERVICES	697	103	115	31	168	53	218	76	291	89	296	109
% female		13		21		24		26		25		27
OTHER SERVICES	0	0	1376	181	1556	272	2067	359	2406	441	2284	480
% female		0		12		15		15		15		17
UNKNOWN	906	49	255	54	168	63	710	157	962	168	587	460
% female		5		18		27		18		15		45

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE BY ECONOMIC SECTOR

	1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEM. .E	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
ECONOMIC SECTOR												
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
AGRICULTURE	57.6	95.0	54.1	89.5	55.5	88.4	42.0	85.9	40.4	84.8	34.3	74.0
MINING	1.0	0.0	1.1	0.1	1.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.3	0.0
MANUFACTURING	10.2	1.5	10.7	5.0	10.7	4.1	13.6	4.4	13.3	4.3	15.4	6.7
UTILITIES	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0
CONSTRUCTION	4.2	0.0	4.5	0.2	4.7	0.1	6.2	0.1	5.3	0.1	6.9	0.2
TRADE	4.5	0.4	6.9	0.5	6.8	0.8	8.4	0.7	9.3	1.1	14.2	2.2
TRANSPORTATION	3.3	0.1	3.7	0.3	4.2	0.3	4.1	0.4	4.2	0.4	5.5	0.5
BUSINESS SERVICES	8.2	2.0	1.2	0.5	1.5	0.9	1.8	1.1	2.1	1.3	2.1	1.7
OTHER SERVICES	0.0	0.0	14.8	3.1	13.9	4.4	16.8	5.2	17.3	5.8	16.1	7.4
UNKNOWN	10.7	1.0	2.7	0.9	1.5	1.0	5.8	2.3	6.9	2.2	4.0	7.1
DI INDEX		37.4		35.4		32.8		43.9		44.4		42.6
WE INDEX		46.6		43.6		42.3		56.1		57.3		58.7

Sources: For 1965-1985, Yearbook of Labor Statistics (1990), ILO; for 1990, Household Labor Force Survey, SIS.
Notes: 'Utilities' include electricity, gas & water; 'Trade' includes wholesale/retail trade, restaurants & hotels; 'Business services' include finance, insurance and real estate; 'other services' refers to community, social & personal services; 'unknown' includes first time job seekers.
DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

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Gender Segregation

2.29 Analysis of trends in the gender composition of work activities is useful, but does not reflect differences in the size of the male and female labor forces and, hence, their participation rates. The shares of men and women cannot be expected to be the same within, say, each economic sector if there are more men than women in the total labor force. Thus, it is useful to compare the work activity distributions of men and women, i.e. the proportions of all men and of all women in various categories. The lower halves of Tables 2.4-2.6 show these distributions and the corresponding DI and WE indices of segregation and they reveal clearly substantial gender differences. The major changes by gender that have occured since 1965 can be summarized as follows:

	1965		1990	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
% of Male/Female LF in Agriculture	58	95	34	74
% of Male/Female LF that is unpaid	21	91	14	68
% of Male/Female Workers that receive a wage	33	6	45	19
% of Male/Female Workers who are self-employed	46	3	37	6
DI/WE Index by Worker Status	70.5/87.8		57.4/78.7	
DI/WE Index by Occupation	36.2/45.0		41.8/57.3	
DI/WE Index by Economic Sector	37.4/46.6		42.8/50.7	

Thus, while there have been some changes in the types of work that women do, the majority of women continue to work in agriculture, as unpaid family workers.

2.30 While the gender distributions in nonagricultural occupational and sectoral groupings (Tables 2.5-2.6) suggest a small shift in the position of women, both the DI and WE indices show not only considerable, but increasing gender segregation over time.

2.31 When compared to the data for other OECD and developing countries, summarized below, the data for Turkey indicate a high and persistent degree of gender segregation in the workplace in Turkey:

DI Occupational Values	1980[1]	1987[2]	
Australian	49	Spain	37
Sweden	42	Portugal	27
USA	42	Greece	26
Canada	39	UAE (1975)	64
West Germany	36	Kuwait (1981)	66

[1] OECD, 1985.
[2] Blau and Ferber, 1990.

Given also the observed increase in the indices of dissimilarity in Turkey over time, it is unlikely that gender segregation will be reduced without policy initiatives designed to encourage women to enter non-traditional work activities.

2.32 Recognizing that there are many complex factors that generate and perpetuate the gender differences in the distributions of work activities, there are, nonetheless, several areas where policy initiatives could reduce gender segregation. For instance:

Education and Training: The types of work that people perform are related to the skills that they bring to the labor market. Gender differences in education and training levels and in the content of courses and programs are significant determinants in channelling men into one set of work activities and women into another. Reducing these differences can play an important role in modifying the gender division of the labor market.

Protective Legislation: Some of the existing protective legislation, which prohibits women from working in "unsuitable" jobs or working at certain hours, also contributes to segregation. Repealing the women-specific provisions of such laws will have both a symbolic and substantive impact on women's work choices, as well as their educational choices. *Employment Equity Programs:* The introduction of "employment equity" programs could also be beneficial (see Box 1 below).

BOX 1: EMPLOYMENT EQUITY PROGRAMS

Employment equity legislation, which should not be confused with "affirmative action" or quota initiatives, was introduced in Canada in late 1986. The main objective of employment equity programs is to prevent or reduce disadvantages experienced by designated groups - women, native people, visible minorities, and the handicapped - because of past or present discriminatory practices. The policy was first implemented at the Federal Government level in 1987; most provincial and municipal governments, as well as large private sector organizations and universities, have also adopted employment equity. There are two important features in the program. First, it is based on a "good-faith-effort" approach rather than mandatory quotas. The main goals in this regard are to identify existing practices within an organization that may have contributed to the exclusion of the designated groups from certain jobs; then, to eliminate these barriers along with the implementation of feasible proactive measures such as, training, targeted advertising for job openings, and flexible working hours for women with young children. Second, private sector participation in the program is not compulsory. However, the program is given "teeth" by a federal contract compliance policy, whereby firms with 100 or more employees are not eligible for bidding on government contracts in excess of $200,000 unless they implement employment equity. To date, the employment equity program affects about 17% of employees. Although it is too early to evaluate empirically the impact of employment equity on gender segregation, the program is considered to be one of the stronger initiatives introduced anywhere to reduce segregation.

Urban-Rural Dimensions and Differences

2.33 In light of Turkey's increasing urbanization - the proportion of population living in urban areas has virtually doubled from 29% in 1955 to 59% in 1990 - a consideration of urban-rural labor force patterns is important, particularly from the standpoint of designing policy measures to alleviate gender

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segregation in the labor force. In the absence of reliable historical urban-rural labor force data the analysis here is based on the 1988-1990 Household Labor Force Surveys.

Trends in Urban-Rural Participation Rates

2.34 Table 2.7 shows the evolution of participation rates by gender in rural and urban areas. A notable aspect is that the participation rate of rural women remains significantly higher than that of urban women - 51% against 15% but that the rural participation rate has fallen from 90% in 1960 while the urban participation virtually doubled.

TABLE 2.7: Participation Rates in Rural and Urban Area, 1955-90

	URBAN		RURAL	
YEAR	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
		(%)		
1955	78.7	6.3	93.0	92.3
1960	75.2	8.3	91.8	90.4
1965	73.7	8.2	90.8	88.6
1982	68.6	11.2	n.a.	n.a.
1983	69.9	12.0	n.a.	n.a.
1984	68.9	13.1	n.a.	n.a.
1985	69.9	13.7	75.1	47.4
1988O	72.9	16.9	80.4	51.8
1989A	71.9	16.5	80.2	55.6
1989O	71.0	17.2	80.1	54.3
1990A	70.3	15.2	78.0	51.2

Sources: 1955-1965 Durand (1975, P. 166); 1982-1990 Household Labor Force Surveys.
Notes: 1955-65, the eligibility age is 15 years, otherwise 12 years. A - April; O - October.

Age Structure Patterns of Urban-Rural Participation

2.35 Table 2.8 and Chart 2.8 show the cross-section age profiles of participation for men and women according to place of residence based on the Labor Force Surveys. The profiles show that the female participation rate is much higher among the rural population than among the urban population and that the rural profile shows a fairly distinct M-shape, while the urban pattern has a small peak at age 20-24 and then declines steadily thereafter - reflecting the reluctance of employers to hire women with children. It is also significant that there is little variation in the participation rates of rural women between 15 and 55 years - from 55% to 63%. The urban and rural male profiles have the expected "male" bell shape and show little difference except for the relatively sharp decrease in participation rates of urban men after age 45 years, whereas in rural areas it only starts to decline significantly at age 60.

TABLE 2.8. URBAN-RURAL PARTICIPATION RATES BY GENDER AND AGE GROUPS

FEMALES								
	URBAN				RURAL			
AGE	1988	1989	1989	1990A	1988	1989	1989	1990
12-14	6.2	6.6	7.2	5.3	40.9	39.4	36.7	36.7
15-19	21.8	18.9	21.6	16.0	59.9	61.6	62.8	60.5
20-24	26.6	25.9	26.0	24.6	58.8	64.2	59.7	57.6
25-29	21.7	22.9	21.7	20.9	55.2	57.2	56.9	55.1
30-3*	22.3	22.7	23.2	20.5	57.3	62.8	58.9	55.6
35-39	18.6	22.7	21.3	21.2	60.7	66.8	64.3	58.4
40-44	16.9	15.8	17.2	18.8	57.1	66.5	66.6	62.9
45-49	11.4	11.5	11.0	9.6	59.0	70.9	58.7	62.3
50-54	9.6	9.3	6	6.5	55.6	59.4	59.3	55.2
55-59	6.2	4.3	8.4	4.1	47.0	51.5	56.9	48.2
60-64	3.7	3.5	5.8	2.9	32.8	39.2	44.8	34.0
65 +	1.5	1.1	2.9	1.1	16.9	17.2	18.0	14.5
ALL	18.9	16.5	17.2	15.2	51.8	55.6	54.3	51.2

Sources: Household Labor Force Surveys, SIS. A - April; O - October.

MALES								
	URBAN				RURAL			
AGE	1988	1989	1989	1990A	1988	1989	1989	1990
12-14	21.2	20.6	23.0	18.5	39.4	38.5	38.2	32.8
15-19	58.0	52.6	53.1	52.9	73.2	68.7	70.2	68.3
20-24	83.8	84.3	82.1	84.1	91.5	91.3	91.7	92.9
25-29	98.2	97.3	97.1	98.8	97.4	98.6	98.6	96.6
30-34	98.8	98.0	98.4	98.5	98.2	97.9	98.6	97.5
35-39	98.5	97.8	98.1	97.8	98.4	98.0	97.9	97.8
40-44	95.1	96.9	96.0	95.4	96.6	98.1	97.8	96.3
45-49	85.0	87.9	85.2	88.4	94.1	94.4	96.4	94.3
50-54	72.9	73.5	67.8	68.0	91.8	92.7	95.5	90.5
55-59	56.1	56.4	50.5	50.3	82.8	84.5	85.5	81.4
60-64	39.7	38.1	35.4	32.0	74.5	76.0	77.0	68.3
65 +	17.4	19.1	18.1	14.2	43.7	45.0	47.9	39.9
ALL	72.9	71.9	71.0	70.3	90.4	90.2	90.1	78.0

CHART 2.8 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES
URBAN AND RURAL - BY AGE GROUPS

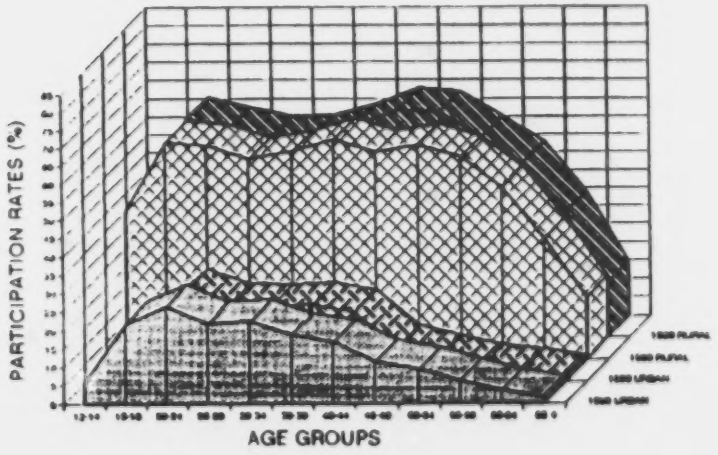
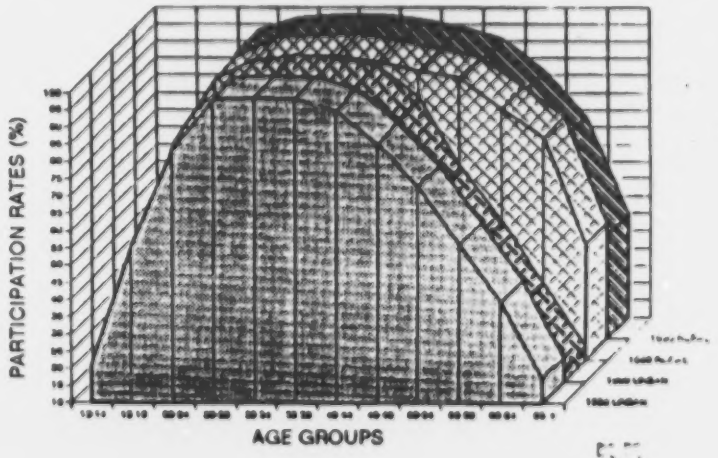


CHART 2.8 MALE PARTICIPATION RATES
URBAN AND RURAL - BY AGE GROUPS



2.36 The urban-rural differences in participation rates, especially among women, can be explained in terms of differences in labor market conditions of rural and urban areas namely: differential unemployment rates, the "mix" of economic sectors and occupations, earnings prospects and work opportunities compatible with educational attainments and skill levels. The low participation rates of urban women (who are generally more educated than their rural counterparts) may also reflect the "discouraged worker" phenomenon documented elsewhere, (i.e., urban women may forego participating in the work force if they do not find appropriate employment, at an acceptable wage, in a favorable work environment or in a reasonable period of time). The low rates may also reflect prevailing cultural norms that preclude women from associating with non-kin males. The low rates, however, also reflect the failure of official labor statistics to include workers in the informal sectors.

Urban-Rural Patterns of Activities in the Labor Force

2.37 Tables 2.9-2.11 consider the gender composition and distribution and segregation measures by residence across worker status, occupation and sector for 1990. Essentially there are three relevant measures - women's share of the urban/rural labor force; the urban/rural share of the female labor force and the urban/rural female participation rate - with similar measures by worker status etc. For simplicity, the key measures contained in Tables 2.9-2.11 are summarized below. In terms of gender composition, the urban-rural patterns reveal few surprises. It is significant to recall that 77% of the female labor force is in the rural areas, that the female share of the total rural labor force is 41%, but only 17% of the urban labor force and that in rural areas, 71% of unpaid workers are women, compared to about 33% in urban areas.

	Urban	Rural	Total
Proportion of Female Labor Force	23	77	100
% of LF that is Female	17	41	31
Female Participation Rate	15	51	33
Proportion of FLF that is unpaid	3	97	100
Females as % of all unpaid workers	33	71	69
% of FLF that is unpaid	10	86	68

TABLE 2.9

DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE
BY WORKER STATUS AND GENDER, 1990

WORKER STATUS	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	('000)		('000)	
TOTAL	7060.0	1465.6	7105.2	5020.5
% female		17.2		41.4
REGULAR EMPLOYEE	3980.4	815.0	1312.2	169.4
% female		17.0		11.4
CASUAL EMPLOYEE	615.9	97.1	487.4	129.9
% female		13.6		21.0
EMPLOYER	557.1	11.8	125.2	1.3
% female		2.1		1.0
SELF-EMPLOYED	1292.8	101.9	3221.7	261.8
% female		7.3		7.5
UNPAID WORKER	282.9	144.5	1722.7	4293.2
% female		33.8		71.4
UNKNOWN	330.9	295.3	236.0	165.0
% female		47.2		41.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE
BY WORKER STATUS AND GENDER, 1990

WORKER STATUS	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
REGULAR EMPLOYEE	56.4	55.6	18.5	3.4
CASUAL EMPLOYEE	8.7	6.6	6.9	2.6
EMPLOYER	7.9	0.8	1.8	0.0
SELF-EMPLOYED	18.3	7.0	45.3	5.2
UNPAID WORKER	4.0	9.9	24.2	85.5
UNKNOWN	4.7	20.1	3.3	3.3
DI INDEX		21.3		61.3
WE INDEX		35.3		71.8

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.
Notes: The 'unknown' category includes first time job seekers. DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

TABLE 2.10 DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION AND GENDER, 1990

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	('000)		('000)	
TOTAL	7060.0	1485.6	7105.2	5020.5
% female		17.2		41.4
PROFESSIONAL	560.5	242.2	235.3	53.9
% female		30.2		18.6
ADMINISTRATIVE	225.5	13.2	84.0	0.0
% female		5.5		0.0
CLERICAL	460.3	247.5	124.4	34.6
% female		35.0		21.7
SALES	1104.7	88.7	308.2	14.6
% female		7.3		4.5
SERVICE	950.1	126.8	342.6	19.9
% female		11.8		5.5
AGRICULTURE	262.2	184.9	4587.8	4614.6
% female		41.3		50.1
PRODUCTION	3130.8	256.9	1168.9	111.8
% female		7.6		8.7
UNKNOWN	364.9	307.5	253.9	171.1
% female		45.7		40.3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION AND GENDER, 1990

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
PROFESSIONAL	7.9	16.5	3.3	1.1
ADMINISTRATIVE	3.2	0.9	1.2	0.0
CLERICAL	6.5	16.9	1.8	0.7
SALES	15.6	5.9	4.3	0.3
SERVICE	13.5	8.7	4.8	0.4
AGRICULTURE	3.7	12.6	64.6	91.9
PRODUCTION	44.3	17.5	16.5	2.2
UNKNOWN	5.2	21.0	3.6	3.4
DI INDEX		43.7		27.3
WE INDEX		72.3		32.1

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.
Notes: 'Professional' includes technical & related; 'Administrative' includes managerial; 'Production' includes transport equipment. 'Unknown' includes first time job seekers. DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

TABLE 2.11

DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE BY ECONOMIC SECTOR AND GENDER, 1990

ECONOMIC SECTOR	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
	('000)		('000)	
TOTAL	7060.0	1465.6	7105.2	5020.5
% female		17.2		41.4
AGRICULTURE	247.5	185.0	4616.3	4617.4
% female		42.8		50.0
MINING	77.2	0.0	100.2	1.5
% female		0.0		1.5
MANUFACTURING	1811.4	326.0	385.1	111.2
% female		15.3		23.3
UTILITIES	20.9	0.0	20.5	0.0
% female		0.0		0.0
CONSTRUCTION	624.5	13.6	354.7	1.9
% female		2.1		0.5
TRADE	1588.0	124.3	418.2	21.0
% female		7.3		4.8
TRANSPORTATION	517.9	26.1	255.8	5.9
% female		5.1		2.2
BUSINESS SERVICES	252.7	95.8	43.7	13.5
% female		27.5		23.7
OTHER SERVICES	1588.9	397.4	694.6	83.0
% female		20.0		10.7
UNKNOWN	330.9	295.3	236.0	185.0
% female		47.2		41.1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN-RURAL LABOR FORCE BY ECONOMIC SECTOR AND GENDER, 1990

ECONOMIC SECTOR	URBAN		RURAL	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
AGRICULTURE	3.5	12.6	65.0	92.0
MINING	1.1	0.0	1.4	0.0
MANUFACTURING	25.7	22.2	5.1	2.2
UTILITIES	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0
CONSTRUCTION	8.8	0.9	5.0	0.0
TRADE	22.5	8.5	5.9	0.4
TRANSPORTATION	7.3	1.9	3.6	0.1
BUSINESS SERVICES	3.6	6.5	0.6	0.3
OTHER SERVICES	22.5	27.1	9.8	1.7
UNKNOWN	4.7	20.1	3.3	3.3
DI INDEX		32.1		27.0
WE INDEX		53.2		31.6

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.

Notes: 'Utilities' include electricity, gas & water; 'Trade' includes wholesale/retail trade, restaurants and hotels; 'Business services' include finance, insurance and real estate; 'other services' refers to community, social and personal services. The 'unknown' category includes first time job seekers.

DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

2.38 The urban and rural patterns of gender segregation by worker status, and the measures of dissimilarity reveal some interesting differences. These can best be summarized as follows:

	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
% of LF classified as				
Unpaid worker	24	86	4	10
Employee	25	6	65	62
Self-Employed	45	5	18	7
Employer	2	0	8	1

In short, there is a marked difference in employment status between urban-rural females and rural males and females, but a greater similarity between urban males and females. Given the continuing urbanization of Turkey's population, this pattern has important implications both for the regularization of female employment conditions with urbanization and for agricultural production. The urban-rural differences in the gender distributions of worker status are reflected in the indices of segregation and, not surprisingly, show a much higher degree of segregation in rural areas - the DI index in urban areas is 21% compared to 61% in rural areas).

2.39 As regards *occupations and sectors*, the tables show a higher degree of gender segregation in urban areas than in rural areas because farming is the main activity of both working men and women in rural areas - 92% of women and 65% of men work in agriculture. As a result, the segregation measures are relatively low (less than 30%) in rural areas. Gender segregation in urban areas for occupation and industry is higher, in part, because women comprise only 17% of the urban labor force. In terms of occupations, the share of women in the more "modern" activities (professions, clerical, sales) is significantly higher in the urban than in the rural areas.

2.40 Thus, the data indicate that, notwithstanding the differences in the urban and rural patterns, the work activities of men and women are markedly segregated in both urban and rural areas. The urban-rural distribution of the female labor force, in conjunction with the differences in gender segregation, and the declining rural, but rising urban participation rates, is of special policy importance - it indicates the existence of two largely self-contained female labor market segments. Hence, the policy initiatives that would enhance the employment standing of the two groups of women are likely to be different.

Hours of Work

2.41 The accurate measurement of labor supply requires information on various dimensions of work behavior. In addition to labor force participation, data on hours of market work are especially important.[22/] It is possible for participation rates to vary over time and between groups because of

[22/] Ideally, a measure of labor supply would include information not only on the proportion of people seeking or engaged in market work (labor force participants) and hours worked, but also on the level of skills and competence that workers bring to their jobs, the continuity of labor force attachment, and the effort devoted at the job. Skill levels are measured imperfectly by educational attainment, while information on work continuity or inter-labor force turnover is generally not available in developing countries, and measures of effort are basically nonexistent.

differing amounts of time worked - hours per week, weeks per year, and over the life cycle, as well as because of unemployment spells. For instance, the continuing growth of female labor force participation in the OECD countries has been accompanied by a general reduction in average annual hours worked and by a pronounced increase in part-time employment. Women account for most of the growth in part-time work, which is concentrated in typically female activities -clerical, sales and services.[23]

2.42 Until the implementation of the revised Household Labor Force Surveys in the late 1980s, the measure of labor supply in Turkey was limited to one dimension - labor force participation. The surveys now provide information on weekly hours worked in the main job by those who are employed.[24] This information, displayed in Table 2.12 and Chart 2.12 reveals several important points, especially as regards working women. First, as can be seen there are no major gender differences in the average weekly hours of work among the employed. Women on average work 43 hours per week compared to 50 hours for men, with slight variation across urban and rural areas and age groups. The percentage distribution of working hours by gender is also noteworthy: most men work at least 40 hours per week: nationwide, 90%; urban, 95%; and rural 83%. The pattern for women is somewhat different: nationwide, 32% of women work 35 hours or less and 36% work at least 50 hours, whether wage earners or unpaid family workers. It is also important to note that 50% of unpaid family workers work more than 50 hours a week.

2.43 Thus, the hours worked dimension of labor supply suggests that female labor force participants devote a considerable amount of time to market work, which is in addition to household chores and childcare responsibilities. The hours worked dimension may partially explain the relatively low participation rates of women in Turkey. This underscores the usefulness of time-use data to assess how women allocate their time between nonmarket and market work, and to determine the extent to which the household responsibilities act as deterrents to employment opportunities in the labor market. Moreover, time-use information would be valuable in designing policy initiatives that would reduce women's workload in the home and in the market. These policies, in turn, could result in significant productivity increases in both the household and the workplace, as well as creating employment opportunities.

Educational Attributes of the Labor Force

2.44 The economic significance of educational attainment, as a proxy for labor force qualifications and skills, is widely recognized. It is perhaps the most important determinant of individuals' labor market outcomes - participation, type of job, unemployment and earnings. Thus, this section considers gender differences in educational attainment in the labor force for the period 1970-1990.[25]. During this period, significant progress has been realized in reducing the gender gap in education. Table 2.13 presents the statistical information for the country as a whole, while Table 2.14 displays urban-rural differences for 1990.

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[23] For example, in Canada, prime-age women represent about 75 percent of part-time employment. The other important groups of part-time workers are youth and older men. The Canadian pattern is typical of other OECD countries. See OECD (1985).

[24] The inclusion of multiple job holders does not change the magnitudes because less than 3 percent of men and almost no women hold more than one job. However, there are no data on inter-labor force turnover, i.e. the number of weeks per year worked.

[25] Information was not available for the years prior to 1970.

TABLE 2.12 WEEKLY HOURS OF WORK IN MAIN JOB FOR EMPLOYED, 1990

AGE GROUP	TOTAL				URBAN				RURAL			
	MALES		FEMALES		MALES		FEMALES		MALES		FEMALES	
	'000	HOURS	'000	HOURS	'000	HOURS	'000	HOURS	'000	HOURS	'000	HOURS
12-14	360.1	46.8	302.7	42.1	124.0	53.2	31.8	44.8	236.1	46.5	271.1	41.8
15-19	1417.7	49.9	1008.8	43.1	628.6	52.3	125.5	45.9	789.2	47.9	883.3	42.7
20-24	1298.8	50.4	763.1	44.2	623.9	50.1	177.2	45.1	672.9	50.7	585.9	44.0
25-29	1796.8	51.2	642.3	43.9	1003.9	51.7	163.5	43.6	792.9	50.5	478.8	43.9
30-34	1696.2	50.1	614.8	42.4	976.8	49.9	170.9	41.3	721.4	50.3	443.7	42.8
35-39	1640.3	50.5	587.2	43.5	929.3	50.5	164.2	40.6	711.0	50.5	423.0	44.7
40-44	1222.1	49.4	459.4	43.1	715.9	48.6	106.9	39.6	506.2	50.5	352.5	44.1
45-49	838.1	50.4	398.5	42.0	471.1	50.0	44.1	42.0	488.0	50.7	354.4	42.0
50-54	822.7	49.6	372.9	41.6	336.7	51.2	27.5	41.4	486.0	48.4	345.4	41.6
55-59	674.8	49.2	329.5	43.2	214.9	51.1	15.8	47.2	459.9	48.2	313.7	43.0
60-64	484.8	49.1	186.7	40.5	101.8	52.2	9.1	49.2	383.0	48.2	179.6	40.0
65 +	378.7	44.0	106.5	37.0	73.5	49.5	5.4	50.3	303.2	42.7	101.1	36.3
ALL AGES	12710.1	49.9	5774.1	42.9	6200.4	50.6	1041.7	42.9	8509.7	49.2	4732.4	42.9

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.
Notes: Numbers may not add due to rounding.

CHART 2.12A HOURS OF WORK - TURKEY
BY GENDER AND AGE GROUP

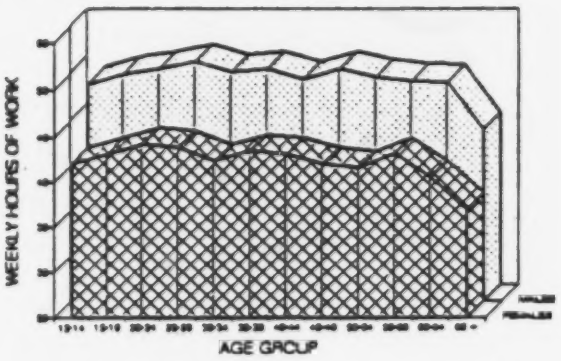

CHART 2.12B HOURS OF WORK - URBAN
BY GENDER AND AGE GROUP

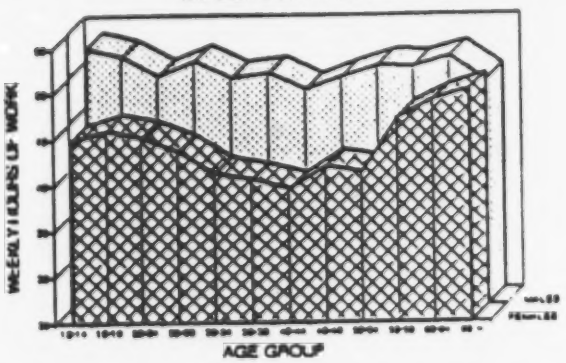

CHART 2.12C HOURS OF WORK - RURAL
BY GENDER AND AGE GROUP

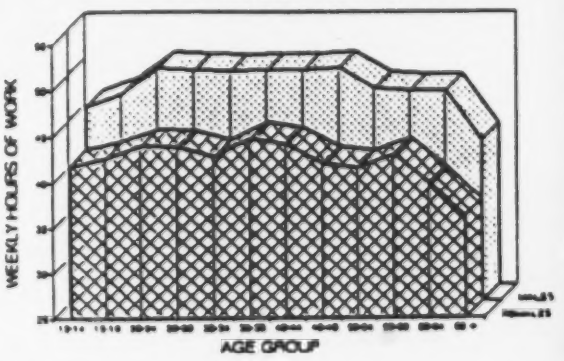

TABLE 2.13 DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE BY EDUCATION AND GENDER, 1970-90

EDUCATION LEVEL	1970 MALE	1970 FEMALE	1975 MALE	1975 FEMALE	1980 MALE	1980 FEMALE	1985 MALE	1985 FEMALE	1990 MALE	1990 FEMALE
					('000)					
TOTAL LABOR FORCE	9306.3	5812.5	11179.5	6204.3	12284.3	6927.9	13932.7	7647.3	14183.3	6488.2
% female		38.4		35.7		36.1		35.4		31.4
NOT REPORTED	0.0	0.0	29.3	6.6	578.1	116.2	870.7	155.7	0.0	0.0
% female		0.0		28.9		26.3		24.6		0.0
TOTAL REPORTED	9306.3	5812.5	11150.3	6197.7	11706.2	6811.7	13062.0	7491.5	14183.3	6488.2
% female		38.4		35.7		36.8		36.4		31.4
TOTAL LITERATE	6566.2	1777.1	8614.2	2605.7	9638.1	3088.1	11605.4	4604.9	13046.7	4585.9
% female		21.3		23.2		24.2		28.4		26.0
ILLITERATE	2740.2	4035.5	2536.1	3592.0	2048.1	3723.7	1456.6	2886.6	1118.6	1900.2
% female		59.6		58.6		64.5		66.5		62.9
LITERATE NO DIPLOMA	1440.6	429.5	1262.0	351.5	937.8	300.2	911.0	609.2	1192.8	499.8
% female		23.0		21.8		24.2		40.1		29.5
PRIMARY SCHOOL	4254.9	1136.8	6008.4	1919.1	6589.7	2230.8	7661.5	3294.8	8519.4	3123.8
% female		21.1		24.2		25.3		29.5		26.8
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	357.9	51.5	561.6	96.4	738.8	108.1	1014.3	158.8	1276.7	212.3
% female		12.6		14.7		12.8		13.4		14.3
HIGH SCHOOL	344.7	108.6	546.1	187.6	841.2	280.4	1201.2	374.8	1341.5	499.7
% female		24.0		25.6		25.0		23.8		27.1
UNIVERSITY	168.1	50.6	236.0	51.1	550.5	168.8	817.4	189.5	716.3	250.4
% female		23.2		17.8		23.4		21.5		25.9

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALE AND FEMALE LABOR FORCE BY EDUCATION

EDUCATION LEVEL	1970 MALE	1970 FEMALE	1975 MALE	1975 FEMALE	1980 MALE	1980 FEMALE	1985 MALE	1985 FEMALE	1990 MALE	1990 FEMALE
TOTAL LABOR FORCE	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
NOT REPORTED	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1	4.7	1.7	6.2	2.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL REPORTED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
TOTAL LITERATE	70.6	30.6	77.3	42.0	82.5	45.3	88.8	61.5	92.1	70.7
ILLITERATE	29.4	69.4	22.7	58.0	17.5	54.7	11.2	38.5	7.9	29.3
LITERATE NO DIPLOMA	15.5	7.4	11.3	5.7	8.0	4.4	7.0	8.1	8.4	7.7
PRIMARY SCHOOL	45.7	19.6	53.9	31.0	56.3	32.7	60.2	44.0	60.1	48.2
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	3.8	0.9	5.0	1.6	6.3	1.6	7.8	2.1	9.0	3.3
HIGH SCHOOL	3.7	1.9	4.9	3.0	7.2	4.1	9.2	5.0	9.5	7.7
UNIVERSITY	1.8	0.9	2.1	0.8	4.7	2.5	4.7	2.3	5.1	3.9
DI INDEX		40.0		35.2		37.2		28.5		21.4
WE INDEX		49.2		45.3		47.0		36.3		29.4

Sources: For 1985-1985, Census of Population (1985), SIS; for 1990, Household Labor Force Survey, SIS.
Notes: For 1990, 'Junior High School' and 'High School' include vocational schools at the respective levels.
The 'reported labor force' is used in the calculations. DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment index. See text for description.

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TABLE 2.14 DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE, 1990 BY RESIDENCE, EDUCATION AND GENDER

	URBAN		RURAL	
EDUCATION LEVEL	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL LABOR FORCE	7060.0	1465.6	7105.2	5020.5
% FEMALE		17.2		41.4
TOTAL LITERATE	6761.0	1304.6	6285.7	3281.4
% FEMALE		16.2		34.3
ILLITERATE	299.0	161.1	819.5	1739.2
% FEMALE		35.0		68.0
LITERATE NO DIPLOMA	391.4	57.1	801.4	442.8
% FEMALE		12.7		35.6
PRIMARY SCHOOL	4049.2	502.0	4470.2	2621.8
% FEMALE		11.0		37.0
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	772.3	131.5	426.1	59.3
% FEMALE		14.6		12.2
VOCATIONAL JUNIOR HIGH	45.2	15.3	33.1	6.2
% FEMALE		25.3		15.7
HIGH SCHOOL	602.3	272.5	250.3	81.9
% FEMALE		31.2		24.7
VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL	342.2	111.7	146.7	33.5
% FEMALE		24.6		18.6
UNIVERSITY	558.4	214.4	157.9	35.9
% FEMALE		27.7		18.5

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LABOR FORCE, 1990 BY RESIDENCE, EDUCATION AND GENDER

	URBAN		RURAL	
EDUCATION LEVEL	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
TOTAL LABOR FORCE	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
TOTAL LITERATE	95.8	89.0	88.5	65.4
ILLITERATE	4.2	11.0	11.5	34.6
LITERATE NO DIPLOMA	5.5	3.9	11.3	8.8
PRIMARY SCHOOL	57.4	34.3	62.9	52.2
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	10.9	9.0	6.0	1.2
VOCATIONAL JUNIOR HIGH	0.6	1.0	0.5	0.1
HIGH SCHOOL	8.5	18.6	3.5	1.6
VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL	4.8	7.6	2.1	0.7
UNIVERSITY	7.9	14.6	2.2	0.7
DI INDEX		26.7		23.1
WE INDEX		44.2		27.1

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.
Note: DI is the Dissimilarity index; WE is the Women and Employment Index.

Nationwide Patterns

2.45 Several interesting trends emerge from the Table 2.13. Although literacy rates of women have increased sharply during the past few decades, women comprise a significant share of the labor force that is illiterate. The female portion of the illiterate work force rose slightly from 60% in 1970, to 63% in 1990. The female share of the "functionally" illiterate (literate but no diploma) work force also rose from 23% in 1970 to 30% in 1990. Women's representation in the labor force with primary schooling rose from 21% in 1970 to 27% in 1990. The patterns for junior high school and high school show a relatively constant female representation - junior high school, 13-15%; high school, 24-27%. The proportion of women in the university-educated labor force fluctuated between 1970 and 1990 but in 1990 was about 26%. In sum, the results show that the illiterate labor force is dominated by women, while the labor force with schooling consists mainly of men.

2.46 Examining gender differences in the distributions among different levels of education shows more positively the progress in women's education. The proportion of illiterate women in the female labor force has fallen dramatically from 69% in 1970 to 29% in 1990; the corresponding values for men have also fallen from 29% in 1970 to 8% in 1990. At the same time, the proportion of women with primary schooling rose from 20% in 1970 to 48% in 1990, while that of men increased from 46% to 60%. The proportion of women with post-primary schooling rose from 4% in 1970 to 15% in 1990, compared to 9% and 24% for men. These statistics on male-female trends in educational attainment suggest declining gender differences, which is confirmed by the marked decline in the DI and WE indices between 1970 and 1990.

Urban-Rural Differences - 1990

2.47 As expected, there are significant urban and rural differences in educational attainment of men and women (Table 2.14). In rural areas, the female share of the illiterate labor force is 68%, but only 35% in urban areas. The corresponding rural and urban portions for the functionally illiterate labor force is 36% and 13%.

2.48 There are also notable urban-rural differences in the educational distributions of men and women, which can be summarized as follows:

	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
% of Labor Force that is:				
Illiterate	12	35	4	11
Functionally Illiterate	11	9	6	4
Completed Primary School	63	52	57	34
Total of Above	86	96	67	49

It is surprising to note that a significantly higher proportion of the rural rather than the urban female labor force completed only primary school and that in the urban areas, the female labor force beyond junior high school has a significantly higher educational level than their male counterparts. However, it needs to be remembered that women account for only 17% of the urban labor force.

2.49 This apparent decline in gender differences in schooling, however, conceals some important differences that may impact on women's labor market outcomes. First, the information on educational attainment concerns only people in the labor force; it thus excludes the large numbers of women who are not in the work force, especially in urban areas. Unfortunately, except for 1988-1990, there is no historical information on schooling attainment of the economically inactive population.[26] Second, the data on educational attainment are used as "ersatz" indicators of labor market qualifications and skills. A serious drawback of the schooling measure is that it does not reveal either the quality of schooling, the types of courses that men and women take, and their fields of specialization or programs, especially at the post-primary levels. A related important information gap concerns the nature of formal or informal vocational and technical training acquired by men and women. Here too, there is no detailed information on aspects where there are likely to be substantial gender differences.

Educational Attainment and Female Labor Force Participation

2.50 Table 2.15 and Chart 2.15 shows the relationship between schooling and female labor force participation rates. One would expect labor force participation rates to vary more by educational attainment among women than among men. It has been found in numerous econometric studies of female labor supply, in both developing and industrialized countries, that schooling is a consistent and among the most effective determinants of female participation, but much less so of men. The effects of schooling are reflected in two general ways. First, since schooling is an important determinant of market wages and work opportunities, this makes it more attractive for women to perform market rather than nonmarket work. Second, education can affect female labor supply, independent of influences through wages, by breaking down the noneconomic constraints related to the woman's (as well as her family's and society's) attitudes (or so-called "tastes") toward market work as opposed to housework. Therefore, one would expect that higher educational attainment would induce greater participation among women.

2.51 As seen in Chart 2.15 the expected relationship between educational attainment and participation rates is clearest for women in urban areas, but the pattern differs in rural areas. The data for urban areas shows that schooling has a powerful effect on the participation status of women. The participation rate of urban women with less than primary schooling is about 8%, but it rises steadily and dramatically with increased education - to 11% for those with primary education; 16% with junior high school (22% with vocational training); 39% with high school (44% with vocational high school), and 78% with university education. It is clear that urban women who have more schooling are much more likely to be in the labor market than their less-educated counterparts. The proportion of women in the working age population (12 years and over) in urban areas with less than secondary schooling, however, is large - almost 80% (23% are illiterate, 7% are functionally illiterate, and 48% have completed primary school).

2.52 In rural areas, the relationship between education and participation is different. Participation rates are relatively high among illiterate women (47%), literate women with incomplete schooling (48%), and among primary school graduates (57%). The proportion of women in the labor force in rural areas with post-primary education is very small - less than 5% - but their participation rates are higher than those of their urban counterparts.

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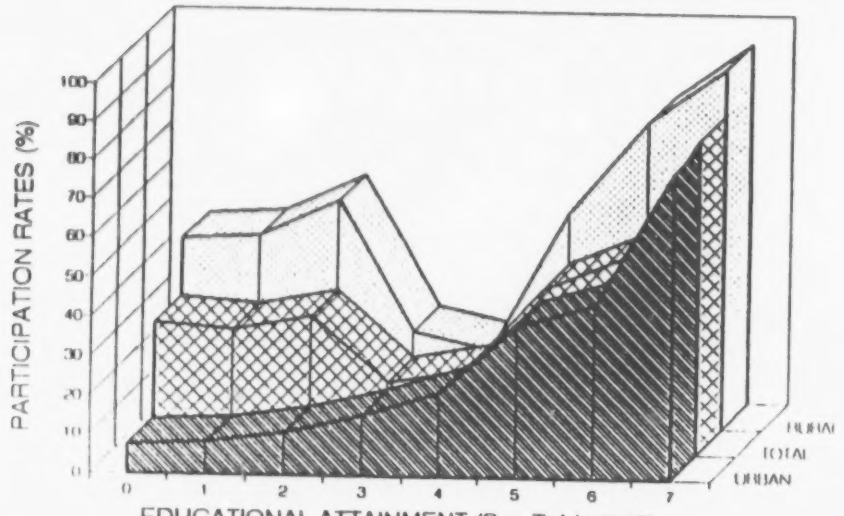
[26] The Household Labor Force Surveys do not provide information on participation rates cross-classified by age, marital status and educational attainment.

TABLE 2.15 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, 1990

	EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	TOTAL							URBAN							RURAL						
		POP 12+ '000	%	IN LABOR FORCE '000	%	NOT IN LABOR FORCE '000	%	PR %	POP 12+ '000	%	IN LABOR FORCE '000	%	NOT IN LABOR FORCE '000	%	PR %	POP 12+ '000	%	IN LABOR FORCE '000	%	NOT IN LABOR FORCE '000	%	PR %
0	ILLITERATE	5919	30.5	1900	29.3	4019	31.0	32.1	2187	22.7	161	11.0	2026	24.8	7.4	3733	38.1	1739	34.8	1993	41.7	46.6
1	LITERATE NO DIPLOMA	1636	8.4	500	7.7	1136	8.8	30.6	703	7.3	57	3.9	646	7.9	8.1	933	9.5	443	8.8	490	10.3	47.5
2	PRIMARY SCHOOL	9227	47.5	3124	48.2	6103	47.1	33.9	4602	47.8	502	34.3	4100	50.2	10.9	4625	47.2	2622	52.2	2003	41.9	56.7
3	JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL	1090	5.6	191	2.9	899	6.9	17.5	842	8.7	132	9.0	710	8.7	15.6	248	2.5	59	1.2	188	3.9	23.9
4	VOCATIONAL JUNIOR HIGH	103	0.5	21	0.3	81	0.6	20.9	71	0.7	15	1.0	56	0.7	21.5	32	0.3	6	0.1	25	0.5	19.5
5	HIGH SCHOOL	853	4.4	354	5.5	499	3.9	41.5	703	7.3	273	18.6	430	5.3	38.8	150	1.5	82	1.6	68	1.4	54.5
6	VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL	294	1.5	145	2.2	149	1.2	49.4	252	2.8	112	7.6	140	1.7	44.4	43	0.4	34	0.7	9	0.2	78.5
7	UNIVERSITY	313	1.6	250	3.9	62	0.5	80.1	274	2.8	214	14.6	59	0.7	78.3	39	0.4	36	0.7	3	0.1	92.4
	ALL LEVELS	19435	100.0	6486	100.0	12948	100.0	33.4	9633	100.0	1466	100.0	8168	100.0	15.2	9801	100.0	5021	100.0	4781	100.0	51.2

Source: Household Labor Force Survey (1990), SIS.
Notes: Numbers may not add due to rounding; PR - Participation Rate.

CHART 2.15 FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, 1990



Male-Female Earnings Differences and Social Insurance Coverage

2.53 The gender gap in earnings is an important statistic relevant to the economic status of women. However, analysis of the gender gap in Turkey is not feasible with available data for a number of reasons. First, the proportion of wage-earning women in Turkey is small: nationwide women comprise 16% of total wage earners and 19% of working women are wage earners. Since only 4% of rural working women but 57% of urban working women are employees, the gender wage gap issue is essentially one of relevance in urban areas. Second, available wage data from the Social Insurance Institution (SII) relate only to workers who are covered by social insurance schemes; in 1990, 22% of the male labor force and 6% of the female work force was covered by the SII. Thus, available data not only fail to support vigorous analysis of the gender wage differential but highlight the fact that the vast majority of working women do not enjoy the benefits of social insurance and their representation in the system is small. Namely, of wage earners, almost one-half of men were covered compared to just over 30% of women. The gender composition of social insurance recipients is similarly skewed: in 1990 women comprised only 10 percent of all workers covered by social insurance.

2.54 The available wage data from SII suggest, furthermore, that the gender gap in earnings is a non-issue - women's average (daily) earnings are 85% of those of men. This magnitude exceeds that found in all OECD countries (where women earn about 20-40% less than men). Statistically, the comparison is also spurious since it compares the average earnings of a select group of 3.07 million men and 377,000 women, nor are the data calibrated for similarity of tasks or years of experience. Although not rigorous, two data sets are indicative of the need for further analysis. First, data on agricultural day-laborers wages from the Provincial Agricultural Directorates for various provinces in 1990 (see Annex 5, Table 13), suggest a wage differential in the range of 40%. Second, using SII data, the ratio of female/male wages for various manufacturing subsectors for 1983 and 1988 show that women on average earn 20% to 30% less than men (Annex 4, Table 14). Simultaneously, the need for further research on the gender wage issue and the impact of adjustment is underscored by the marked decline in the ratio of female/male wages (averaging 25-30%) for all manufacturing subsectors (except leather goods and fabricated metals) revealed by the SII data for 1983 and 1988. Earnings data for wage and self-employed workers are collected in the Household Labor Force Surveys; while these data would underpin the necessary analysis, to date, they have not been released. More attention in terms of data collection, analysis, and policy initiatives must be given to this question because a higher proportion of the female work force will engage in paid market work activities during the process of urbanization and industrialization. Finally, it should be noted that the issue of pay equity cannot be separated from that of gender segregation of the labor market.

Policy Implications

2.55 Based on the patterns and findings concerning the labor force activities of Turkish women, this section proposes proactive policy responses that would enhance the ability of women to become effective agents in Turkey's development. The economic transformation of Turkey will likely continue to be reflected in rapidly falling rural and slowly rising urban participation rates of women during the 1990s. Whether or not, and how quickly, a U-shaped relationship materializes depends largely on two considerations: the availability of employment opportunities for women and the supply of skilled and qualified women who could take advantage of these opportunities.

2.56 An *important - if not the key element - is education*, which is interpreted here to include all forms of schooling: formal and informal, adult education, vocational and on-the-job training. Raising women's educational attainments or earnings capacity - especially at the post-primary levels and in programs, courses, and fields of study that would meet the skill requirements of industrialization - will improve both economic efficiency and women's economic status. Increased education will raise their participation rates, reduce the likelihood of unemployment and increase continuity in their labor force attachment. Moreover, changing the patterns of women's education will likely reduce the gender wage gap and segregation in the work place, as well as provide young girls and boys - and adults - with different attitudes towards the gender division of labor. *The policy response for integrating women in the development process needs therefore to focus on broadening women's skill range.*

2.57 Much of the observed gender disparity in participation rates and earnings, and the persistence of segregation in the work force can be attributed to gender differences in education and training. Further narrowing these differences will impact favorably on the status of women and thereby, Turkey's overall development. If educational policies are to be successful in removing gender disparities in the work place, they must be *complemented by labor market-related initiatives.* In other words, changing educational policies is a necessary but not sufficient condition for improving the status of women. To this end, there are several policy measures that could be pursued.

2.58 For instance, *progress towards eliminating gender segregation* can be made by the Government itself setting an example to ensure symbolically and substantively, that gender segregation is not perpetuated. *The implementation of employment equity initiatives,* along the lines pursued in Canada (see Box 1 above), would represent an important step in facilitating the equal access of women to employment opportunities that have traditionally been dominated by men, as well as the newly-emerging work prospects that will become available during the continuing transformation of the economy. Action in this area, would need to be coordinated with other initiatives.

2.59 Some of the existing *protective legislation* which was designed to ensure that women are not exposed to hazardous physical or moral conditions in the workplace, precludes their employment of women in jobs that are deemed "unsuitable" for them. Consideration needs to be given to repealing these measures as they have the unintended effect of restricting women's job opportunities. As evidenced by the negligible female representation in industries including heavy industry, mining, construction, utilities and transportation (Table 2.6), these measures contribute to gender segregation. This legislation also influences educational choices of women and discourages them from even entering particular occupations. The experience of several countries has shown that the repeal of this legislation is unlikely to result in a massive and immediate influx of female truck drivers, construction workers, heavy equipment operators and miners. Rescinding the laws will, however, play a significant role as a signal in changing the attitudes of men and women towards "suitable" women's work; it will also influence young women's educational choices for their future careers. The negative sociological and psychological impacts of protective legislation should not be underestimated.

2.60 There are also *constraints emanating from the labor market* that make it difficult for women to seek market work. Women are hampered in their market work opportunities by labor demand constraints and by employment costs. Labor demand constraints, which generally arise from labor standards legislation and collective agreements, are reflected in minimum working hours and by rigid work schedules. These constraints compound the difficulty of combining market work with household responsibilities. Encouraging (or mandating) employers (especially in the industrial and services sectors) to provide more flexible time arrangements by modifying labor laws governing working hours would be

a useful policy measure. Women's employment opportunities are further influenced by the costs of employment - the location of the jobs reflected in commute time and expenditures on items such as clothing, childcare and meals. While the necessary data on Turkey are not available, the information from other countries clearly show that "fixed costs" of employment are in practice very significant for women (especially among wives and female-headed households) and play a prime role in influencing the entry of women into the labor force and the types of jobs they will seek. Enforcement of existing regulations regarding enterprise childcare facilities and encouragement to establish community or family childcare facilities would be beneficial (see also para. 3.41).

2.61 The vast majority of women in the labor force - 94% have no *social insurance coverage*. As a first step, a target could be set to equalize the proportion of working women covered by social insurance with that of working men (22%). The inferior access of women, especially unpaid family workers, to social security rights suggests a violation of Article 60 of the Constitution of Turkey ("*Everybody* has the right to Social Security"). As a first step, and in light of the need to re-vamp the existing insurance system, a review of the present system and its future adequacy should be undertaken, giving specific consideration to means of increasing women's coverage with the objective of equalizing their coverage with that of men within a specified period.

2.62 A *further, and highly significant area of policy initiatives to increase the visibility of women concerns the collection and publication of data.* A comprehensive and up-to-date data base containing socioeconomic indicators on the role and situation of women vis-à-vis men is a *sine qua non* for analyzing, evaluating, and improving women's relative economic status and for monitoring the impacts of female-oriented and structural adjustment initiatives. Consideration should therefore be given to introducing the following measures:

Publication of an Annual Statistical Report on the Socioeconomic Status of Women : This would be a useful and inexpensive means, inter alia, of reducing female invisibility. The report, which could follow ILO, OECD, and/or UN standards, would collate and summarize *existing information* on socioeconomic indicators that are already available. The Canadian approach is illustrative. Each year, since the late 1950s, the Canadian Women's Bureau has published a "Women in the Labour Force" report, which contains contemporary and historical gender-disaggregated information on labor force activities, earnings and income, education, benefits and unionization. In addition, Statistics Canada (the Federal government statistical agency) publishes a document called "Women in Canada", which, in addition to labor market aspects, also provides information on health, education, the family, housing, the legal system and minority groups. SIS has recently announced its plans to publish a document titled "Women in Statistics" in October 1992; the frequency of publication will be decided by demand.

Undertaking Policy-Relevant research on women's labor force behavior either within SIS or by outside researchers. There are numerous such studies for various developing countries and at least one econometric study of female labor supply for each OECD country, excepting Portugal and Turkey).[27/] Simultaneously, analysis of gender differences in wages, schooling attainment, poverty, unemployment and the impact of migration and legislation could usefully be undertaken.

27/ For collections and summaries of recent studies on female labor force behavior in OECD and other industrialized countries (the Soviet Union, Israel, Sweden) see: Layard and Mincer (1985), Killingsworth and Heckman (1986), and Moffitt (1990). As regards developing countries, recent studies include those by Arriagada (1990) on Peru; Behrman and Wolfe (1984) on Nicaragua; House (1985) on Cyprus; Khandker and King (1990) on Peru; Mackinnon-Scott (1991a, 1991b) on Bolivia and Jamaica; Mohan (1986) on Colombia; Ng (1990) on Argentina, Terrell (1989) on Guatemala, and Stelcner, Smith, Breslaw, and Monette (1991) on Brazil.

2.63 The implementation of the revised nationwide Household Labor Force Surveys beginning in 1988 represents a significant improvement over the Census in providing labor market information, especially in reducing the statistical invisibility of women's work. The continued implementation of the surveys should be strongly encouraged. However, insufficient published data are currently made available to permit a thorough assessment of the role and contributions of women in the Turkish economy. In particular, data on gender-disaggregated average earnings, family characteristics and broken down by the major metropolitan areas should be made available.

2.64 Modifications of, and additions to, the well-designed labor force survey or the planned Income and Expenditure Survey could provide valuable policy-relevant information at low incremental cost. Specifically, the addition of information on time use by household members (see Box 2 below); retrospective information on lifetime and recent (5 years) market work history; data on inter-labor force turnover (weeks worked per year); data on spells and duration of unemployment and withdrawal from the labor force and reasons (e.g., pregnancy, return to school, husband does not want me to work); housing characteristics (e.g., water supply, electricity, fuel and major household appliances); education (e.g., field of study at the post-primary level, reasons for leaving school); fertility (e.g., how many

BOX 2: TIME USE SURVEYS

Official data collection methods, in general, pay little attention to the question of time use, let alone the value of non-market activities. The issue is of less interest for men since almost all of their work time is spent on activities that generate market earnings, and hence are reported in the official statistics, in contrast to women, whose work activities (both in the household and market) tend to be under-enumerated. With their market work opportunities constrained by household responsibilities (child care and housework) and with work on the farm or in the family enterprise frequently unpaid, information on how women use their time can be used to pinpoint the problems and trade-offs that women face, as well as assessing their contributions to the well-being of their families. The evidence from time-use studies in other countries shows that women work longer hours than men, and that the poorer the country, the more hours women work. At the same time, the studies show that women make a significant contribution to the well-being of their families, communities, and society. Such information can be used to design female-oriented policy interventions relating for instance to child-care (including investment incentives and tax credits), access to financial resources and to amenities (fuel, water and electricity), and the development of technologies, tools and materials that would improve women's productivity in the home and in the labor market.

Time allocation profiles could be generated by adding the following type of questions to the surveys: how many hours do you usually devote to: animal care, working fields, child care, handicrafts, weaving, household chores (e.g. cooking, shopping, cleaning) and to "passive" leisure (e.g. sleeping, recreation, eating, health care and personal appearance and religous activities). Although the information would not reflect the monetary value of the activities, it would indicate the potential areas for policy interventions to reduce the work burden of women - both participants and non-participants. Collecting time use data is also an important step in reducing the statistical invisibility of housework and thereby recognizing more explicitly women's contributions. Successful time allocation surveys have been conducted in most OECD and Eastern European countries and in a number of developing countries, for instance Nepal, Indonesia, Peru and Philippines. Recognizing the importance of housework, more attention is being given to this issue in industrialized countries. In a recent study, Juster and Stafford (1990) provide an interesting international analysis of time devoted to housework by men and women in industrialized economies. Among the more interesting findings are that, the amount of such work performed by men varies considerably - from about 18 hours per week in Norway and Sweden to less than 4 hours per week in Japan. Their data also suggest that the amount of time devoted to housework by women does not very much with their labor force status. The UN (1991) provides a useful summary of available statistics on time use in various industrialized and developing countries.

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children have you given birth to, do you plan to have any more children, how many, use of birth control); migration status and reasons; and social security coverage and unionization by gender. The benefits of a more detailed annual survey along these lines would readily exceed those of the current biannual surveys, while the costs would likely be of the same magnitude. These changes would support analysis and research into the consequences of economic change, and the character and effectiveness of policy interventions, in addition to issues relating to women's fuller integration into the economy.

2.65 In addition to family responsibilities, women in the labor force work long hours - frequently, unpaid. In rural areas, household responsibilities, may be shared by other female family members. However, this is less likely to be the case in urban areas where families are smaller and female school enrollment rates are higher. Women, regardless of educational attainment, face the issue of time allocation between market work and household responsibilities. If they perform market work, they carry a double burden. As in the OECD countries, and notwithstanding improvements in the technology of housework, their education, or even household income, women's responsibilities for maintaining and managing the household are unlikely to change. The social convention that women are responsible for household work hinders their labor market activity. Changing social conventions and ingrained attitudes among men and women is not an easy task. However, *policy responses in the form of "moral suasion" are possible*. For example, through promotional and publicity campaigns (e.g. TV programs, documentaries and media advertising by government) showing men helping in household chores, women working in "male-dominated" occupations, and publicizing the dilemmas that working women face in juggling their time. While the impact of this publicity will probably be greatest on younger people, a message will also be conveyed to employers of large numbers of women.

2.66 Another set of nonmarket policies that would reduce the double load of working women concerns *improvements in living conditions*, especially among the urban poor and in the South-Eastern provinces. Increased provision of amenities such as water, sewerage, heating and cooking fuels would ease the burden of housework. Also, improvements in health services, especially for children, and the availability of childcare facilities would make market and nonmarket work more compatible.

2.67 In conclusion, it should be noted out that in December 1989, the members of the European Council (excepting the UK) adopted The Community Charter of the Fundamental Social Rights of Workers (the "Social Charter"). The Charter mandates the Commission of the European Communities to produce an action program and regularly report on the implementation of the principles of the Charter. An important feature of the Charter is section 16 entitled Equal Treatment for Men and Women which states that:

> "Equal opportunities for men and women must be developed. To this end, action should be intensified to ensure implementation of the principle of equality between men and women as regards in particular access to employment, remuneration, working conditions, social protection, education, vocational training and career development. Measures should also be developed enabling men and women to reconcile their occupational and family obligations."

The EC is now finalizing a *Social Charter Action Program* which contains proactive policy recommendations that are particularly relevant to the status of women. In addition to fostering the enforcement of the principle of pay equity between men and women, several other women-related measures of the Program deserve mention. First, initiatives must be developed to improve the training, employment and career development needs of women by providing full access to vocational training and retraining on a strictly non-discriminatory basis. Second, gender equality in matters of social security

must be ensured in all work activities, regardless of the size of the enterprise, worker status, or economic sector of activity. Third, to reconcile market work and family obligations and recognizing the growing importance of working women with children, the Action Program advocates improving the quantity and quality of childcare services for parents who are employed or in education or training programs. It is also recommended that the member states take measures to enable parents to have access to the childcare services by instituting flexible work schedules and leave arrangements for employed parents, and to encourage the equal sharing of household responsibilities between men and women.

2.68 Turkey has ratified the Social Charter (with some reservations) as well as the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and numerous international labor conventions. Ratification, as seen from the statistics cited in this report (Chapter V below), does not necessarily and readily translate into implementation and enforcement. Nonetheless, Government's ratification of the Social Charter and the anticipated adoption by the EC in the near future of the Action Program, will contribute positively to an environment supportive to women's further integration.

CHAPTER III

WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY

Introduction

3.01 While Chapter II above focused on the issues relating to women's participation arising from the official labor force statistics over the past four decades, this chapter goes beyond the data to address the issues and constraints currently faced by women in the major sectors, including women working in the informal sector - an estimated 0.5-1 million women - who do not appear in the official labor force statistics. This chapter first describes women's contribution to the agricultural, industrial and service sectors and then addresses, *inter alia*, the structural and institutional constraints to women's productivity, their access to resources and inputs, including health, education and training. Alleviation of these constraints would simultaneously increase economic efficiency, promote development and improve the relative status of women. Furthermore, enhancing the participation of women in economic development has intergenerational implications since the greater economic independence of women is shown to be positively related to improvements in children's health, nutrition and education.

Women's Work and Employment Patterns

3.02 According to the most recently published Labor Force Survey (April 1990) there are approximately 6.5 million women in the labor force and 14.2 million men - a female labor force participation rate (FLFPR) of 33% compared to 74% for males (Table 2.1). As noted in Chapter II above, there are marked differences in participation by residence: the participation rates for women and men in rural areas are 51% and 78% respectively, and in urban areas, 15% and 70% respectively (Table 2.7). Given the urban migration since the 1950's and the economic standing of migrant families, the continuing low urban female participation rate is surprising. This is attributed, at least partially, to the omission from official labor statistics of informal sector workers, as well as more limited opportunities for women's employment in urban areas and social constraints to their employment. As seen in the educational attainment levels (Chapter II), women's limited skills and training relative to men may also make it more difficult for them to obtain employment in the urban formal sector. These differential urban-rural participation patterns underline the need to address separately the issues facing women in the urban and rural areas. In this chapter, the industry and services sector and agriculture are used as proxies reflecting the participation patterns in these areas.

3.03 Table 3.1 below, which summarizes the sectoral employment patterns for men and women, shows that a majority of women in the labor force are concentrated in the agricultural sector, while men are more evenly distributed across economic sectors. Also, as noted in Chapter II, 68% of the women in the labor force in 1990 were unpaid family workers and 25% were wage earners or self-employed, compared to 14% of men who were unpaid and 82% who were wage earners or self-employed (Table 2.4).

TABLE 3.1: Distribution of Labor Force by Economic Sector, 1990

	Total	Women ('000s)	Men	Females (% of Female Labor Force)	Males (% of Male Labor Force)	Females (% of Total Labor Force)	Males (% of Total Labor Force)
Agriculture	9,666	4,802	4,864	74	34	50	50
Industry	3,829	455	3374	7	24	12	88
Services	6,128	768	5360	12	38	13	87
Unknown	1,027	460	567	7	4	45	55
Total	20,650	6,485	14,165	100	100	31	69

Source: Table 2.6.

Note: Industry includes manufacturing, mining, construction and utilities. Services includes trade, transportation, business services and other services. Unknown refers to first time job-seekers.

The Agricultural Sector

3.04 The agricultural sector employs almost three quarters of the female labor force and, of the total agricultural labor force, one half is female (Table 3.1). It is also significant that of all women working in agriculture, almost two-thirds work 40 hours or more and 20% work 60 hours or more[28/], but that only an estimated 3% of women in agriculture receive a wage, 92% are unpaid family helpers and 5% are self-employed.[29/] Notwithstanding the involvement of women in this sector, their role is not addressed in available data, studies or programs relating to the agricultural sector. Thus, Annex 5 represents probably the first attempt in English to analyze women's involvement in agriculture. In the absence of concrete information, the analysis of women in agriculture in this report is based on micro-level data and case studies, primarily sociological and anthropological.

3.05 Although women are engaged in almost all activities in agriculture, the extent of their participation depends to a large extent on the income and size of the homestead, the topography of the region and the extent of mechanization (Annex 5). In general, women's participation is higher in lower income and small farm households, in hilly or mountainous areas than in the plains,[30/] and more in crops/activities that are less mechanized.[31/] Women's participation is limited in commercial crops (such as cereals) where most operations are mechanized and greatest in self-consumption crops (particularly, vegetables, fruit, pulses and small livestock). Activities that are female-intensive include hoeing, weeding

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[28/] See Household Labor Force Survey. SIS, April, 1990. Table 12.

[29/] Ibid, Table 11.

[30/] This is because hand harvesting and hoeing, primarily female tasks, are required in these areas since the topography is not suited to mechanization. Also, livestock production, which is female-labor intensive, is important in these regions.

[31/] The regression results in a study of 290 women in 32 villages of Erzurum also support this, Erturk (1988), "Women's Participation in Agriculture in the Villages of Erzurum, Turkey", FAO. p. 31.

and hand harvesting[32]; male-intensive activities include pruning, grafting, and mechanized operations[33] (such as soil preparation, seeding, fertilization, chemical spraying, irrigating and harvesting) and marketing. With respect to livestock, men focus on field activities and marketing, while women are responsible for the remaining tasks (milking, feeding and cleaning the stalls and animals). For homestead poultry production, women carry out most tasks but for market-oriented, larger-scale operations men assume overall responsibility. Women are also involved to a large extent in sericulture, and increasingly in apiculture.

3.06 For those women employed in the agricultural sector who receive a wage, there is little information on wages and even less on gender differentials. Until 1989, the minimum wage for agricultural workers was set separately from other workers and was lower. The only regular source of wage data is the Social Insurance Institution (SII). Social security was extended in 1983 to self-employed agricultural workers (Law No. 2926) and unpaid family workers (Law No. 2925). The coverage of women, however, is limited: in 1990, while women constituted 50% of the agricultural labor force, they constituted 9% of insured workers in the agriculture, animal husbandry and forestry sub-sectors and less than 1% in fishery. While the sample population is limited, wage data for insured workers show a narrow wage differential: female wages were 80% of male wages in agriculture and animal husbandry, 89% in forestry and 73% in fisheries (Annex 5, Table 14). Recent data on daily wages of male and female agricultural workers in 18 provinces collected by the Provincial Agricultural Directorates of the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (MARA) suggest a wage differential of 40% (Annex 5, Table 13).

3.07 Notwithstanding the importance of women to the agricultural sector, women do not enjoy ready access to agricultural resources and support services such as extension and training, information, credit or appropriate technology. With respect to the extension and training system, women are constrained since the village extension agents who work with the farmers directly are invariably male while the home economists, who also work in the villages, are all female. This occupational segregation is, in large part, the result of the training system whereby village extension training programs are given in the Boys Vocational Schools (dormitory programs) and the Home Economics programs in the Girls Vocational Schools.[34] While the male extension agents are undoubtedly willing to work with women, they are required to contact a particular number of farmers, who are defined as the titled owner. Thus advising women in their farm activities would be in addition to the agent's routine work load. Simultaneously, while there are women who can talk freely with the extension agents in the absence of a male relative, this is the exception rather than the rule. The curricula of extension programs and research undertaken also reveals a bias towards commercial crops, which tend to be male-intensive activities. Village extension meetings are also attended primarily by men, thus women rely on their menfolks for dissemination of information. In fact, the case studies are replete with instances of extension agents providing training to men for women's activities. In terms of access to credit, the

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[32] Threshing, winnowing, crop processing, cleaning, drying, storage.

[33] There is some evidence of a change in this practice. Women in many regions of Turkey are actively enrolling in training courses on mechanization and tractor driving organized by the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (Annex 5).

[34] At a higher level in the Provincial Directorates, extension workers (including home economists) are university graduates and gender segregation of training is not a factor; nonetheless, at this level, women are rarely found working in the extension services other than as home economists.

results of the credit questionnaire submitted to Ziraat Bank regional branches (Paras 3.28-31 below and Annex 6) suggests that women receive little agricultural credit. Similarly, technology improvements in the agricultural sector have tended to benefit commercial crops with only limited development of technology for female-intensive activities. In light of the increasing educational attainment of rural women over the past decade, which may seriously affect female participation in agriculture in the coming decade, consideration needs to be given not only to the likely availability of female labor in the sector over the decade, but to the consequent need for technology, extension services, credit and research.

The Industrial Sector

3.08 According to the 1990 Labor Force Survey, 7% of employed women worked in the industrial sector and they constituted 12% of the industrial labor force (Table 3.1). The differential employment growth by gender in the industrial sector between 1970 and 1990 is significant: the female industrial labor force grew by 50% (from 304,000 to 455,000) while the male industrial labor force more than doubled (from 1.5 million to 3.4 million). It is also important to note that three-quarters of the women employed in the industrial sector live in urban areas and that over three-quarters are wage-earners (compared to 3% in agriculture), 9% are self-employed, less than 1% are employers (compared to 4% of men) and 12% are unpaid family workers. For the industrial sector - and the service sector - it is also important to know whether the person works in a formal or informal enterprise and the location of employment - homebased, workshop or formal enterprise.[35/] Based on LFS definitions, approximately 53% of all women working in rural industries worked in informal enterprises and 24% in urban industries.[36/] Of the women working in informal enterprises in both urban and rural areas, more-than three-quarters are homebased. The data on informal workers in both the industry and service sectors, however, are considered to be a serious under-estimate of the number of people working, and particularly of women.

3.09 The industrial sector consists of four subsectors: manufacturing, mining and quarrying, construction, and gas and electricity. In terms of female employment, the industrial sector is virtually synonymous with the manufacturing industry; since the 1950s some 97% of all women in the industrial sector have been employed in manufacturing (Annex 4).[37/] Within the manufacturing sector, there is an extremely high concentration of women in the textiles (66%) and food (14%) industries, followed by machinery and equipment (7%) (Annex 4, Table 4). The first censuses (1913 and 1915) show that this concentration is a longstanding one, reflecting, to a large degree, the employment of women in activities that are an extension of their traditional household duties.

3.10 As regards to occupational status, the majority (80%) of employees in manufacturing - both male and female - are in the "production and related workers" category. Employment of both men

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[35/] The 1990 LFS defines an informal enterprise as one employing less than five people. However, in practice, an informal enterprise is distinguished rather by its observation of labor regulations (for instance, minimum wage, payment of overtime, job security, working conditions).

[36/] Labor Force Survey, SIS, April 1990, Table 47.

[37/] The data on the manufacturing sector here are based primarily on the 1985 Population Census rather than the Labor Force Surveys since for disaggregation at the sub-sectoral level the sample size is not sufficient (Annex 3).

and women in this category has fallen consistently since 1950, when approximately 95% of employees were in "production". The greatest growth of female employment in the manufacturing sector has taken place in the "scientific, technical and professional", clerical and service workers categories,[28] whereas for men the employment growth has been concentrated in "administrative and managerial" and service workers. The gender differential is greatest in the "administrative and managerial" category - and the differential appears to be increasing (Annex 4, Table 5). Within the "production and related workers" group it is important to note that women are concentrated in four subgroups: 45% work as spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers and related workers; 25% work as tailors, dressmakers, seamstresses, upholsterers; 6% work as food and beverage processors and 5% in tobacco processing.

3.11 Data summarizing employment status by gender in the manufacturing sector show a significant increase in the proportion of female wage earners in the manufacturing sector between 1970 and 1985[29] - from 40% to 79% and a steady decline in the proportion of unpaid family workers from 18% in 1970 to 12% in 1985 (Annex 4, Table 7). These trends are much stronger than for the industry sector as a whole (see Chapter II). The trends in female employment in the manufacturing sector suggests that while their employment growth was not rapid, that the sector has created significant job opportunities since 1970. The trends also suggest that to the extent that employment opportunities develop for women, that women take the opportunities regardless of factors such as perceived inferior status (for instance, of factory work) or social pressures. The data also supports trends in other countries - that initially, the majority of women work as unpaid workers, assisting their male relatives, mainly due to the lack of job opportunities in modern organized sectors. When opportunities do emerge, they prefer working in the factories rather than in homebased industries. Working outside of the home corresponds with an improvement in their status within the family.

3.12 The decline in the proportion of self-employed women from just over 40% in 1970 to 9% in 1985 deserves elaboration. While the fluctuations undoubtedly reflect changing statistical definitions, their decline is, at least, partially real. For instance, looking at sub-sectors, the proportion of tailors (seamstresses) as a subgroup of self-employed women was 82% in 1970 but fell to 32% in 1985. As ready-made clothing dominates the market, fewer people continue to wear tailored clothes and this inevitably reduced tailors' livelihoods. A continuing decline in this category is expected as ready-made clothing increases its share of the clothing market. The share of women who are classified as "employers" is very small and has remained stable in the Census data whereas the male share has grown steadily. This reflects in part the prevailing view that it is inappropriate for a woman to run a workplace by herself, given the competitive nature of the manufacturing industry, the type of work involved and the conditions of workplaces.

3.13 The female labor force in the industrial sector is relatively young. The highest activity ages of women are between 15-24 years (almost 40% of the sectoral labor force) and if the 12-14 age group is also included, women under the age of 25 comprise 50% of the female manufacturing labor force (Annex 4, Table 10). The male participation rates for the 15-24 years group is 28% and for the 12-24 age group, 31%. The difference in gender participation rates at these ages reflects very largely parents' differential schooling preferences for sons and daughters. After 25, female participation rates

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[28] Until 1965, clerical workers were included in the administrative category.

[29] There are significant discontinuities within the Census data for the manufacturing sector (notably for 1955, 1960 and 1970) and between the Census and the Labor Force Survey data.

decline consistently with age, reflecting both their roles as wives and mothers but also, a marked preference of employers for younger women, who are considered to be both more productive and obedient. Frequently, an age limit of 25 is set for applicants.

3.14 The educational attainments of the female labor force in the manufacturing sector has increased considerably in recent years - the percentage of "illiterate" and "literate without a diploma" women fell from 45% in 1970 to 16% in 1985; while the corresponding decline for men was from 20% to 7% (Annex 4, Table 11). Although considerable progress has been realized in narrowing the educational gender gap, the female labor force remains at a disadvantage. Data on *the source of training of the skilled labor force also underscores the importance of schooling in the employment of women - 45% of skilled women received their training at school compared to 18% of men* (Annex 4, Table 12). It is also significant that 59% of men compared to 34% of women received their training on the job.

3.15 Minimum wages are set at a minimum every two years by the Minimum Wage Board in the Ministry of Labor. In July 1991, the minimum monthly wage for workers aged 16 and over was set at TL801,000 ($195), or in net terms about TL502,911 ($123). Data on wages which would permit analysis of the gender differential are not published. The only regular source of wage information in Turkey is the Social Insurance Institution, (SII) but these data need to be treated cautiously since only 6% of the female labor force is covered by SII and the sample size in the sub-sectors can be extremely small. Nonetheless, the ratio of men's and women's wages using SII data for different sub-branches of the manufacturing industry in 1983 and 1988 show that women on average earn 20 to 30% less than men (Annex 4, Table 14). The 1988 data suggest that women do relatively less well in tobacco, textiles, clothing - all of which are relatively female-dominated sectors - and in, petroleum, and transportation and communication. They receive the highest relative pay in leather manufacturing, furniture and fabricated metals - which are relatively male-dominated sectors. Perhaps of greater interest, is the decline in the female/male wage ratio for almost all sectors - except leather manufacturing, furniture and fabricated metals between 1983 and 1988.

3.16 According to the Turkish Labor Code, the official working week in factories is forty-five hours, although there are exceptions. During the peak seasons, factories may resort to overtime work and employees are not always in a position to refuse working. Small firms which are difficult to regulate, when extending the working week, may or may not pay their workers for overtime work. In contrast, larger firms usually comply with regulations and pay overtime. The practice of shift work also depends on firm size and the nature of the business. During the 1980s, with increased production stemming to a large extent from increased capacity utilization, shift work increased. Both the legal environment and tradition work to minimize female shift work, thus closing off many sectors to their employment.

3.17 Turning to the *informal sector*, it should be noted that the workshop is most usually found in the textile and leather garment industries, where sub-contracting by large enterprises is prevalent, and in carpet-weaving. Workshops permit larger firms to reduce costs, circumvent regulations and to recruit women who may have difficulty working outside of their community. Workshops may be family workshops, in which case the women may not be paid since their work is part of the family effort, or commercial, where wages would be paid.

3.18 Although technically *homebased production* includes self-employment, it is used in Turkey primarily to refer to the putting-out system, whereby agents (middlemen - who are often relatives) supply raw materials to the producers, mostly women, who are paid on a piece-rate basis. The putting-out systems covers a wide range of activities in Turkey: carpet and rug weaving, handloom weaving of local

textiles, lace making, embroidery, crocheting, knitting, tailoring, souvenirs and food production. The system is advantageous to the agents who have minimal overhead costs and no capital expenditures. From the point of view of women, homebased work provides flexibility, does not interfere with their household responsibilities, and provides an opportunity to earn - although wages are low. For instance in Ankara province in mid-1991, women were found to receive TL5,000 ($1.25) for knitting an intricate sweater - a minimum of 20 hours work. Similarly, in Konya in 1991 women weaving carpets for a cooperative (without middlemen) received approximately TL270,000 ($65) for a carpet which takes about one month working 50-60 hours a week. The reasons for the low earnings of women in the informal sector reflect both the nature of their work and status: specifically, their productivity is low (Ayata, 1987); there are no alternative sources of employment; regulations as to minimum wages and working conditions are difficult to enforce; and, reflecting the patriarchal structure of the household, the male members of the household generally set or negotiate the rates with the middlemen or employers and receive the earnings. Whether they work at home or in a workshop, the wage earned by women tends to be seen as an additional income supplementing that of their husbands or fathers; for example, Berik (1987) found that the male relatives received the earnings directly in 70% of cases.

3.19 To summarize, while only 7% of women in the labor force are employed in the industrial sector, the analysis shows a high degree of job segregation - 80% of women work in the textiles and food industries and of these, 80% are in the lower occupational (production) ranks. The data also show that the rate of growth of women in the industrial sector since 1970 has lagged behind that of men, although official statistics largely exclude informal employment in workshops and at home. Employment in the informal sector is difficult to gauge, but is widely believed to have grown rapidly during the past decade as real incomes fell in the course of adjustment; unofficial estimates add 0.5-1 million women to the official estimates.

3.20 In short, and as in many middle-income developing countries, a significant part of the female industrial labor force is statistically invisible. This underlines the need not only to conduct time-use studies and to strengthen the labor force surveys, but more importantly, to revisit and enforce labor legislation, to reconsider Government support for homebased work and to improve and broaden women's employment prospects, including their access to resources, and in particular to credit.

The Services Sector

3.21 Approximately 12% of employed women work in the services sector, and they constitute about 13% of the documented labor force in the sector (Table 3.1). The services sector is defined to include four subsectors: wholesale and retail trade; transportation, communication, and storage; financial and business services; and community, social, and personal services. About 63% of all women employed in the sector are in community, social and personal services, followed by trade (18%), business services (14%), and transport and communication (5%) in that order. Compared to industry, the services sector has been one of relatively rapid employment growth for women. Between 1970-1990 the female labor force in the services sector grew three-fold (from 255,000 to 768,000) compared to a 50% increase in industry (from 304,000 to 455,000). In the same period, the employment of men in the services sector doubled (from 2.5 million to 5.4 million). In the services sector, as in the industrial sector, there is a serious under-estimation of workers, and especially of women.

3.22 The community, personal and social services subsector encompasses a wide range of occupations from government employees, professionals and clerical staff to domestics. The distribution of women within this category (Table 3.2), characterizes some of the issues facing Turkish women today.

The proportion of professional, scientific and technical personnel is high - 51%, and yet the proportion in administrative or managerial positions is low - 1%. Notwithstanding the high proportion of professionals, micro-level data suggests that women are segregated in the lower ranks of each profession. For instance, in academia women account for 32% of all faculty - but 20% of full professors, 30% of instructors, 35% of research assistants and 54% of "other" (mostly language teachers).[40] In government, women account for just over 25% of professional staff,[41] but there are no female undersecretaries, 3-5 director-generals, and a small percentage of directors and chiefs in the line ministries (OECD data forthcoming). Similarly in the health sector, there is a greater concentration of women in the paramedical ranks (Annex 2).

TABLE 3.2: Distribution of Employed Women in Community, Social and Personnel Services by Occupational Groups, 1990

Occupational Groups	%
Scientific, technical, professional, and related workers	51.0
Administrative, executive, and managerial workers	1.0
Clerical and related workers	27.0
Sales	0.3
Services	20.0
Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	0.0
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers	0.7
TOTAL	100

Source: Household Labor Force Survey, SIS, 1990, Table 9.

Issues and Proposals Concerning Women's Productivity

3.23 Drawing on the issues raised above, this section attempts to identify both the constraints facing women in all sectors of the economy and alleviating measures. Many of the constraints are cross-sectoral, others sector specific.

Cross-Sectoral Constraints

3.24 The major cross-sectoral constrains identified are: awareness of women's contribution; access to resources and, in particular, credit; the legal environment; and the general infrastructure of the economy.

3.25 ***Awareness of Women's Contribution.*** Notwithstanding the major contribution of women both in the marketplace and the homestead their output is not fully recognized. There are many reasons for this: their role in the labor market; their statistical invisibility; and the lack of knowledge as to

[40] Acar, in Abadan-Unat (1981) and GOT and OECD (1989).

[41] Yayan (1984), "The Role of Women in the Turkish Economy", Social Planning Department, Ankara.

women's role. For instance, in the rural labor force, the majority of employed women work in the agricultural sector and are unpaid. Similarly, for women working in the rural industries, their husbands or fathers tend to receive their wages directly. In the urban areas, the female participation rate is low (15%), although this understates women's participation since the official labor statistics do not fully reflect women in the informal sector. The statistical invisibility reflects a number of factors: under-reporting of women's work by male proxy respondents, as well as by women themselves; the "overlap" between women's market work and housework; and the difficulty of both designing surveys and training enumerators to fully reflect women's work. The lack of research into women's role has also contributed to the failure to fully recognize women's contribution. As noted above, there has been little analysis of women's work in the agricultural sector or research into improving productivity or technology for female-intensive activities. Similarly, the design of extension programs has not taken into account the need to provide information or training to women (other than in traditional wifely activities through the home-economics field staff), although MARA has recently introduced pilot programs to re-train the home economists as field agents to assist women in their agricultural activities. In addition, in the past few years, MARA has begun to consider women's role in their rural development projects. The international agencies which have been most active in the developing world in promoting women's activities (FAO, IFAD), do not have a women's focus in Turkey although the UNDP has in the past two years initiated several innovative projects directed at women (for instance, geese-breeding, apiculture). Similarly, the NGOs in Turkey have only recently become active in addressing the situation of the majority of Turkish women (Chapter V). For instance, the Foundation for the Advancement of Recognition of Turkish Women (NFTW), founded in 1986 has been active in initiating at the grassroots level non-traditional, as well as traditional activities in both urban and rural areas and established (with support from FAO) the first women's agricultural project in Turkey (Giresun), which provides credit and establishes cooperatives for women. Similarly in the urban areas, there is little knowledge of the role and contribution of women in the industrial, service or informal sectors. In particular, other than sociological or anthropological case studies, there has been no analysis of women in the service or informal sectors.

3.26 Ironically, the seeming failure to address women's contribution stems, in part, from the far-reaching nature of the women's reforms in the early Republican era. Specifically, since women were granted full rights, there was no need for women-oriented programs or policies. Rather, gender-neutrality has been the norm in Turkey since the early 1930s. The status of women in Turkey had become synonymous with that of the visible and articulate educated, urban women who enjoyed a high status in terms of labor force participation, remuneration, and their representation in public office and the professions. However, the position of the majority of women remains essentially unchanged by their legal emancipation. For these women, gender-neutral policies were not sufficient to ensure what had been provided by law. In the mid-eighties, with the resurgence in interest in women's issues, there has been an acceptance within Government of the need for special emphasis on women's issues and a renewed level of activity of non-governmental organizations - nonetheless, to date, the impact on the majority of Turkish women is minimal.

3.27 Thus, until recently, women's issues have received scant consideration be it in government, academic or private circles. Increasing awareness of women's issues involves, as a first step, not only integrating these issues into the consciousness of planners and decision-makers, but overcoming ingrained attitudes about women's role in government and society, in general. In the interest of increasing the awareness of women's contribution and reducing their statistical invisibility (Chapter II), the collation and publication of existing data on gender would constitute a useful step, followed by strengthening the household labor force surveys, conducting time-use studies and training enumerators in gender sensitivity. There is a need, in addition, for basic research - economic and social - into many

aspects of women's contribution: quantitative research into labor-force participation, working conditions and wage issues, and the impact of technology. In the rural areas, research is needed into women's agricultural activities (including undertaking gender-activity analyses)[42] and means of strengthening the extension services and training programs to better serve women. In the urban areas, research is needed on the informal sector, especially the contribution of homebased work and the putting-out system; the service sector; the impact and contribution of returning migrants; and of the status of female-headed households.

3.28 *Access to Credit.* The review of Banking and Credit Laws in Annex 1 indicates that there are no legal constraints to women's access to credit, *per se*. Nonetheless, in light of the small number of loans granted to women by the banks catering to small and medium enterprises and in the absence of systematic collection of credit data by gender, a small survey of six banks - Halk, Ziraat, Vakiflar, Isbank, SYKB and TSKB - was undertaken in the summer of 1991 for this report with the objective of obtaining some understanding of the credit constraints women face. The survey (Annex 6) covered some 340 branches in all regions of Turkey.[43] A separate survey was designed for Ziraat Bank (the Agricultural Bank) in view of the different loan types offered. The survey shows that in Ziraat Bank women account nationally for 26% of deposits and accounts in the branches surveyed but 3% of all loans and borrowers. Women's share of deposits and loans is significantly lower in the First and Second Priority Regions. In Halk, Vakiflar and SYKB Banks, women's share of deposits and accounts varied between 12-15% while they accounted for 6-7% of loans and 3-4% of borrowers. The results further suggest that while the financial institutions do not discriminate on the basis of gender, that these formal institutions and their programs do not meet the credit needs of small entrepreneurs, including women, and that both supply and demand factors are at play. Supply factors include the structure of loans - average loan size is too large, terms are not flexible to the borrower's circumstances; transactions, processing and monitoring costs are too high for small loans; rigid collateral procedures; and perceived higher risks of default on small and inexperienced borrowers. On the demand side, women are constrained by custom from seeking credit since traditionally, male family members deal with financial matters. Other factors constraining women's demand for credit in Turkey include strict collateral requirements - particularly in agricultural areas where land is frequently titled in the male's name (Annex 1); lengthy application procedures; discomfort in dealing with banks, and in some cases, the absence of female staff to serve female borrowers. Two additional factors, consistently identified in the survey responses as helpful to improving women's access (and small enterprises in general) are advertising and the increased dissemination of information about loan facilities through existing channels, and the need to strengthen the basic business skill of borrowers.

3.29 Studies of women's access to credit and of programs to facilitate their access, from countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Peru and Mexico, demonstrate that whenever loan instruments and lending criteria suited to small-scale entrepreneurial activities in the informal or rural sectors are developed, that women demand such credits and that the rate of return and repayment records are as good as or better than those of men. Such programs have demonstrated that streamlining of

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[42] See for instance Feldstein and Poats (1991).

[43] 262 responses were received in total; Isbank and TSKB did not respond.

paperwork, modification of conventional loan repayment schedules[44], collateral requirements, through greater reliance on the repayment capacity of the borrower or of broadening the concept of collateral to encompass loan security through group lending, livestock, farm equipment or jewelry are helpful.

3.30 In view of the unsuitability of the formal financial institutions' programs for the need for capital, Turkish women and small entrepreneurs have relied on limited informal credit sources about which little is known. One such source is the rotating savings and loan groups, called "Para Li Gun". These are essentially informal groups within communities, whose members make regular, specified contributions to a fund, which is given in rotation to each participant. Contributions are frequently made in foreign exchange or gold, as a hedge against inflation. The funds may be used for consumer purchases (cars, household equipment), house purchase or investment in businesses.

3.31 In an effort to enhance the productivity of families, in recent years, several small programs to facilitate access to credit have been introduced. For instance, MARA has initiated in conjunction with FAO, a small program to provide in-kind credits to farmers - male or female - for small-scale poultry, livestock and milk-processing activities. In addition, both the Turkish Development Foundation (TDF) and the NFTW have also begun programs to extend in-kind credit to women engaged in rural and agricultural activities. The TDF program, targeted for 11,000 families, is based on a revolving fund for interest-free, in-kind credit repayable in equal annual installments over five years with a one-year grace period. The Family Research Institute in conjunction with Halk Bank initiated in 1989 a Family Credit Program, whereby families can apply for loans for the production of handicrafts within the home; as of mid-1991, 2,700 loans had been made for an average loan amount of just over $100 - with 85% of all loans to women.[45] Experience to date in Turkey, however, suggests that lower transactions costs will be essential if credit programs for small entrepreneurs are to be developed within the formal financial institutional sector.

3.32 ***Access to Complementary Inputs and Infrastructure Constraints.*** Besides credit, women also face constraints in their access to complementary inputs - marketing outlets, improved technology, technical support services - especially agricultural extension and skill training. These constraints are dealt with more specifically, in paras. 3.34-41 below. More generally, improvements in housing and the national infrastructure (water and sanitation, fuel and electricity) will simultaneously help promote the productivity and integration of women.

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[44] For instance, allowing a choice of repayment in frequent small amounts or a few large payments depending on the expected income stream.

[45] The *Family Credit Program* was initiated by the Family Research Institute in 1989 to finance home production of handicrafts. The Government contributed TL5 billion to a revolving fund, with additional funds provided as needed by Halk Bank, which is responsible for implementing the program. As of mid-1991, 2,700 loans had been approved for a total amount of TL12 billion, of which TL9.7 billion had been disbursed. Of the total loans approved, 85% were for women. The minimum loan amount under this program is TL500,000 (approximately $125) and the maximum TL5 million (around $12,500). The maximum maturity is two years with a six month grace period. Government funds are restricted to credits in the Priority Provinces with an interest rate of approximately 51%; Halk Bank funds are for all other provinces and the interest rate is approximately 68%. As of mid-July, the repayment experience was good - less than 2% of the total disbursed was in arrears, although repayment experience was poorer in the Priority Provinces. Operating costs in terms of processing applications, monitoring loans and marketing are considered to be too high to make the program commercially feasible.

3.33 ***The Legal Framework.*** Chapter I summarizes the legal environment as it affects women and Annex I reviews in detail the legal framework and the constraints it imposes on women's participation. While the Civil Code constrains women in so far as the husband remains the head of the household, and thereby, the decision-maker, the annulment in 1990 of Article 159 by the Constitutional Court by which women were required to obtain their husband's permission to seek employment and to obtain credit for their work, removed a major barrier to women's participation. Nonetheless, as seen above, the existing Labor Legislation constrains women's participation, over and above the differential treatment accorded to women under the protective legislation. Specifically, Article 13 of the Labor Law permits an employer to dismiss a woman worker on grounds of pregnancy and without severance pay. Similarly, some of the protective legislation regarding night work and heavy and dangerous work contributes to confining women to the traditional female-intensive industrial activities and should be reconsidered. The absence of legislation concerning working conditions in the agricultural and informal sectors, which together account for more than 80% of the female labor force, and the difficulty of enforcing existing regulations, in general (for instance, minimum wage and the establishment of childcare facilities) constrain women's full participation. Simultaneously, the introduction of legislation/regulations permitting part-time and flexitime employment and to preclude discrimination against older workers would also facilitate women's integration. In the agricultural sector, the Law of Succession (Articles 597-598, Annex 1, p. 6), which in the case of the partition of agricultural land gives priority to male heirs, disadvantages women, especially in the context of collateral for credit.

Agricultural Sector Constraints

3.34 ***Agricultural Extension and Research.*** As noted above, women are constrained by the current delivery systems despite their significant participation in the agricultural sector. Factors contributing to the continuation of these systems include: the focus of extension services and research on commercial crops (in which men tend to be involved) rather than the subsistence crops, such as small livestock, vegetables, fruits and flowers - all of which have considerable commercial potential for Turkey; the virtual absence of female extension agents or subject-matter specialist (SMS's) - as opposed to female home economists - outside of the provincial directorates; the absence of women as contact farmers, in large part since they are not the titled owner; the prevalence of traditional attitudes that restrict contact between the women and non-kin males; and, the male identity of the bureaucracy responsible for extension and training - from the central planning offices to the village level.

3.35 While women are largely excluded from agricultural extension services, they are not excluded from home-economics extension services. Reflecting the perception of women as homeworkers, the government programs and those supported by international agencies, promote the training and recruitment of home economists for delivering services focusing on foodmaking and preservation, handicrafts (sewing, knitting), childcare and homemaking. In part, this system results from the training system. The agricultural extension training program for village extension agents is a 3-year dormitory program offered only in Boys' Vocational Schools. The home-economics program is a 3-year program offered only in Girls' Vocational Schools; the main purpose of which is to increase the living standards of the rural families by increasing the homemaking skill level of the women. Currently, the Ministry of Agriculture offers three home economics vocational high school programs (graduating about 75 home economists a year) and employs 1,336 home economists in 73 provinces. Home-economics is one of eight SMS groups within the extension program responsible for providing information and training at the provincial level. The home-economics SMS group, however, is the only group authorized to contact women and the only one with a significant number of women agents. Thus, while extension is provided to women, it is not productivity-related. In recent years, MARA has introduced on a pilot basis programs

to re-train home economists as field agents so that they can assist women farmers in their agricultural activities. It is also significant to note that the widespread employment of the home economics specialists also counters the prevailing view that women cannot be found to work in rural areas.

3.36 Although women continue to account for more than 25% of students in agriculture and forestry at the universities and most of the students (over 90%) are employed by MARA, issues relating to women's agricultural activities receive little attention in either Government or academia. In both Government and the universities, agricultural research has tended to focus on commercial (male-intensive) crops rather than on self-consumption (female-intensive) crops. Case studies, however, also cite numerous instances of productivity losses resulting from this focus. For instance, high yielding wheat varieties were not introduced in the eastern part of the country because of their unsuitability for home-consumption (the selection criteria of research departments focused on criteria such as incremental yield, disease resistance but not on criteria relevant to women - taste, grindability, storage life) with a consequent loss in yield. Similarly, women were reluctant to use fertilizer on potatoes, despite the yield increasing effect because of the shorter storage life with fertilizer.

3.37 Thus, consideration of women's issues in both the central and regional offices in planning, extension and research is needed. The introduction of "advisers" on women's issues or a women's unit in MARA to focus attention on these issues could contribute significantly to raising awareness. Also, consideration should be given to reviewing regulations concerning gender enrollment in MARA courses; the curricula of the home economics programs; as well as re-training both home-economists and agricultural SMS's to address women's agricultural activities and training in gender-sensitivity; and to the establishment of a target-number of female farmers for field extension agents to contact. A greater focus on female-intensive agricultural and research activities in extension services would also be beneficial; namely, crop storage poultry and livestock management and food-processing. In research, and in technology development, a greater focus on women's activities and crops is desirable. In particular, consideration should be given to undertaking time-use or gender-activity analyses (see Feldstein and Poats, 1991).

3.38 ***Technology.*** Women are constrained in their access to new technology in several ways. For technology improvements relating to tasks performed by women (or women and men) which are addressed by extension agents, women rely on receiving information from their male-kin. In general, for tasks that are predominantly performed by women, (hand-hoeing, harvesting by sickles, nut-shelling, silk-spinning) there has been relatively little development of appropriate technology, in large part because research and development has focused on commercial agriculture. However, where technology changes for primarily female tasks occur, frequently the traditional division of labor is restructured to permit men to take on the newly productive task (for instance, electrical milking equipment; mechanized hoeing for sunflower production in the Thrace region).

The Industrial and Services Sector Constraints

3.39 The major constraints facing these two sectors, besides the general constraints of awareness, access to credit and inputs and the legal framework, are the need for training, particularly in the more modern, "higher tech" fields; the need to understand the impact of Turkey's economic development and of technology on women in these sectors; and supportive services, such as childcare.

3.40 ***Training.*** For women in the industrial and service sectors, the need for appropriate training is perhaps the greatest constraint to their fuller participation. As noted in Chapter II, the gender

differential in educational attainment has narrowed continuously over the past thirty years, but gender segregation in the labor force has not yet begun to narrow. Approximately 80% of women in industry continue to work in food and textiles - sectors in which employment growth will likely be limited. Thus, there is an urgent need to broaden the training opportunities offered to women and, thereby, their skill range. The small proportion of female entrepreneurs and self-employed women in Turkey also suggests that training in basic business and management skills should be encouraged. Programs to promote women's entrepreneurship developed, inter alia, by the Economic Development Institute of the World Bank may provide a useful model. Annex 4 and recent studies (for instance Sudi, 1989) demonstrate a great demand by women at all educational levels for skill training. The data (Annex 4, Table 12) also indicate that men receive significantly more on-the-job training than women and that more women in skilled positions received their training in school. Simultaneously, however, data on applications by gender to vocational and technical schools show that enrollments rates for girls schools are significantly lower than for boys schools, which outnumber girls schools by approximately 3:1. The discrepancy between desire for training and enrollment of girls may reflect the perceived utility of programs offered. Thus, a reassessment of the training policies and courses offered for women by all agencies, both in the context of Turkey's industrialization and service-orientation over the coming decade and in terms of their remuneration and skill/career growth is needed. Similarly, a re-evaluation of the segregation of Boys/Girls Vocational and Technical Schools is needed, together with the rationale for separate Directorate Generals for Boys/Girls Vocational Education and the continuing gender segregation of courses offered by the Directorate General for Apprenticeship and Non-Formal Education. This reassessment needs also to address specifically women's "life-cycle" needs, including re-entry potential and the differing urban/rural participation patterns of women. In addition, the assessment needs also to address the issue of "educating" employers as to the advantages of hiring women.

3.41 ***Childcare.*** According to Turkish Labor regulations, work places employing between 100-150 women workers are required to establish nursing rooms and those employing more than 150, must have nursing rooms and creches for the care of children less than 6 years of age. However, the regulations do not appear to be enforced. According to available data from the Directorate General for Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SSCPA), in 1990 there were 262 creches and day-care centers run by workplaces (including all industrial and non-industrial establishments, both in the private and public sectors) and 17,321 children enrolled. In private factories there were 12 childcare centers with a capacity of 814 children. Simultaneously, there were 486 privately run childcare centers in Turkey with a capacity of 20,591. However, since these are costly, they are only available to middle class and/or professional women. Unlike in many other parts of the world, it does not appear in Turkey that within neighborhoods, families operate informal day-care facilities. Grandmothers or other female relatives appear, however, to play an important role in providing day-care. This suggests a serious shortage of appropriate childcare facilities in Turkey, which affects the employment of women in two ways: first, it may prevent women who want to work, from doing so; second, if women decide to work, they tend to look for work with reasonable access to day-care facilities. Enforcement of existing enterprise regulations will contribute to the establishment of a day-care mentality but, in addition, the development of neighborhood and municipal day-care is needed to facilitate women's productive work outside of the home. For this the use of the media, extension of credits (such as the Family Credit Program) to establish community or home day-care facilities, provision of information on establishing day-care and also, consideration to establishing short training courses for community mothers. The Bank-supported day-care project in Colombia (No. 8028-CO, May 1990) provides a useful model for this.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND TECHNICAL TRAINING

Introduction

4.01 In Turkey, as in most countries, education and training are crucial instruments for integrating women into development - particularly into paid employment. The significant progress realized in Turkey since 1970 in reducing the gender gap in education has been discussed in Chapter II. Nonetheless, there are aspects of Turkey's education and training programs where minor changes could strengthen considerably their role in improving opportunities for women. This chapter describes briefly the structure and coverage of education and training programs and examines their implications for women's work. It then examines particular features of the system which are likely to influence girls' enrollment in school and training programs and choice of specialization. It ends with recommendations for improving opportunities for females in education and training and, through them, in employment.

Structure of the Education and Training System

4.02 Universal education has been an important principle of the country since the founding of the Republic. The 1982 Constitution states that "Primary education is compulsory for all citizens of both sexes...". By law, education in public schools is free, and school attendance through the eighth grade[41] is now mandatory. But the coverage of education at the lower grades falls well short of this statutory requirement, particularly for girls (paras. 4.7 and 4.8). Depending on the type of education, facility and requirements, some schools, however, are allocated only to girls or to boys." In fact, gender stratification is quite pronounced in vocational education (paras. 4.17 and 4.18).

4.03 Formal education programs at the primary and secondary level are the responsibility of the Ministry of National Education (MOE). They comprise a five-year primary cycle, a three-year middle-school cycle, and a three-year or four-year secondary cycle. Children normally enter primary schooling at age six in urban areas, and at age seven in rural areas. There is also a limited program of pre-school education. Formal education throughout the country follows a common curriculum through primary and middle schooling[42], with the exception of Anatolian schools. Anatolian schools are established to meet the needs of the more successful students and equip them with a foreign language which will be helpful for their higher education in Turkey or abroad. Anatolian schools generally are better equipped than conventional schools and attract better qualified teachers and students. Entrance to the Anatolian schools is highly selective, based upon a national entrance examination which students may take at the end of primary schooling.

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[41] The Government now refers to *basic education* as the eight-year period of compulsory education, comprised of the five-year primary education cycle plus the three-year middle-school cycle.

[42] A once-extensive program of vocational education at the middle-school level has largely been replaced with a uniform program of general studies. A number of middle schools still carry the vocational-school designation, but the vocational instruction programs which they offered are being phased out.

4.04 In addition to formal programs of education, there are also numerous non-formal programs of education. Most of these are managed by the MOE, but specialized, sectoral training is also provided by the Ministries of Industry, Defense, Agriculture, Culture, Labor and Tourism. Non-formal education programs are of three types: a) literacy training for adults and out-of-school children, b) employment-oriented training designed to develop skills for home production, to improve employability and to promote entrepreneurship, and c) life skills in safety, hygiene, etc. The non-formal training provided by the Ministry of Labor's Employment Office (IIBK) is particularly promising because it assures job placement upon completion of the training. The IIBK trained and placed some 11,000 job applicants between 1988-90, 60% of whom were women. Much of this training has been for the service sector (tourism and commercial training). Many of the women's courses, however, focus on traditional women's occupations.

Status and Trends in Female Education and Training

4.05 *Current Status.* Table 4.1 summarizes the status of female enrollments in formal education and training by level and type of program, based on enrollment data from the 1987/88 school year. While there has been a significant reduction in the enrollment and literacy gender gap in the past two decades (see para. 4.12) it is apparent from the figures in Table 4.1 that the proportion of female enrollments continues to decline as the level of education and training increases, although there is less inequality between male and female enrollments in general secondary education than in middle schooling or secondary vocational education. Female enrollments constitute almost half of recorded enrollments in pre-school and primary education, but represent only about a third of enrollments in middle schooling, secondary schooling, and higher education. Female students are particularly under-represented in vocational and technical education. Moreover, the figures in Table 4.1 on the overall situation understate the presence of females in many occupational areas, due to the differentiation of programs in girls' and boys' vocational schools (para. 4.17). There is no clear pattern of girls' enrollments in Anatolian schools. The proportion of girls' enrollments in Anatolian middle schools is higher than for conventional middle schools, but the reverse is true of Anatolian secondary general schools.

4.06 What do these figures imply about room for improvement in girls' enrollments in formal programs of education and training? At the primary level, the high (47.2%) percentage of female enrollments suggests satisfactory coverage, but estimates of enrollment ratios show that there remains considerable room for improvement. The normal indicator of education coverage in Turkey is the gross enrollment ratio. The gross enrollment ratio expresses the number enrolled at a given level of schooling as a percentage of population in the age group which is considered normal for that level of schooling. A figure frequently cited in Turkey is the primary-school gross enrollment ratio of 102 percent, derived by dividing recorded 1987/88 primary-school enrollments, public and private, by the SPO's estimate of 1987 population for the 7-11 year age group. If one performs the same exercise separately for male and female enrollments, it leads to a gross enrollment ratio of 105 percent for males and 99 percent for females.

TABLE 4.1: Share of Female Enrollments in Formal Education and Training by Level and Type of Program, 1987-1988

Program Type	Total	Male	Female	Female as % of Total
Pre-School	103,204	54,257	48,947	47.4
Kindergarten	15,153	8,138	7,015	46.3
Nursery School	88,051	46,119	41,932	47.6
Primary (grades 1-5)	6,880,304	3,636,054	3,244,250	47.2
Public	6,843,335	3,615,708	3,227,627	47.2
Private	36,969	20,346	16,623	45.0
Middle (grades 6-8)	2,091,178	1,354,442	736,736	35.2
General	1,870,244	1,207,332	662,912	35.4
Public	1,815,110	1,175,701	639,409	35.2
Anatolian	33,424	21,398	12,026	36.0
Private	55,134	31,631	23,503	42.6
Vocational	220,934	147,110	73,824	33.4
Public	220,410	146,839	73,571	33.4
Anatolian	1,069	680	389	36.4
Private	524	271	253	48.3
Secondary (grades 9-12)	1,168,357	743,089	425,268	36.4
General	697,227	396,885	300,342	43.1
Public	673,130	384,246	288,884	42.9
Anatolian	14,713	8,984	5,729	38.9
Private	24,097	12,639	11,458	47.5
Vocational	471,130	346,204	124,926	26.5
Public	469,923	345,548	124,375	26.5
Anatolian	4,229	2,620	1,609	38.0
Private	1,207	656	551	45.7
University				
Undergraduate	310,703	199,968	111,095	35.8
Technical/Vocational	59,421	40,578	18,843	31.7
Open University	133,139	95,057	38,082	28.6
Graduate/Professional	30,836	20,584	10,252	33.2

Sources: Statistics of National Education, Youth, and Sports 1987-1988 (Ministry of National Education). Higher Education Statistics, Student and Placement Center - OSYM.

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4.07 These figures and figures like them have been interpreted in Turkey as evidence that primary-school coverage is complete, notwithstanding the contrary evidence in literacy ratios (paras. 4.9 and 4.14). But in the presence of high grade repetition (para. 4.11) and numerous children who start school late, gross enrollment ratios exaggerate actual school coverage because they include overage children in the numerator but not in the denominator. In this situation, a more accurate indicator of school coverage is the net enrollment ratio. Like the gross enrollment ratio, the net enrollment ratio is a ratio of enrollments to population; but unlike the gross enrollment ratio, it excludes overage students from the numerator so that both the numerator and denominator are limited to the same age group. The primary-school net enrollment ratio for 1987 is 79.3 percent, based on SPO population estimates for the 7-11 year age group. The separately estimated net enrollment ratios for males and females[41] in 1987 were 81.7 percent and 76.7 percent, respectively.

4.08 The enrollment deficits which these figures imply are summarized in Table 4.2, below. In primary schooling, the deficit in female enrollments in relation to male enrollments[42] in 1987 was 164,000. Another 1.2 million enrollments, about half of them female, would be necessary to attain full enrollment at the primary level. At the middle-school level, the female enrollment gap is even larger. There, an additional 335,00 female enrollments would be required to attain parity with male enrollments, and an additional 2.1 million enrollments - again, half of them female - would be necessary to reach full enrollment at the middle-school level. Thus, based on the latest available data, it would require an additional half million female enrollments merely for female enrollments to catch up with male enrollments in basic education. Full compliance with the Government's policy of universal basic education would require an additional 3.8 million enrollments in primary and middle schooling, including 2.1 million additional female enrollments. There is, then, very important unfinished business in providing basic education to all children in Turkey. This is particularly true for girls, since these estimates indicate that 41 percent of girls of primary and middle-school age currently do not attend school.

4.09 How does Turkey's performance in providing education for girls compare with other countries? Table 4.3 presents a summary comparison in terms of female enrollments and female literacy - a cumulative record of past enrollments - for seven countries in the region. It is apparent from these figures that the differential between male and female literacy is greatest where literacy rates are lowest. Adult literacy for males and females in Turkey is the lowest of any of the countries in the reference group. Per capita income is also the lowest, but the estimates nonetheless provide some indication of the progress that is required. The primary-school net enrollment ratio in Turkey is also the lowest of any country in the group. Primary-school gross enrollment ratios are misleadingly high in Turkey because of the prevalence of overage students due to grade repetition (para. 4.11). The secondary-school gross enrollment ratios for males and females in Turkey are lowest of any country in the group, although these figures are overestimates - again, due to the prevalence of overage students.

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[41] Because published MOE enrollment data by students' age are not gender specific, these estimates are based on the assumption that the proportion of enrolled males and females aged 7 to 11 years is the same as the reported proportion of total primary enrollments aged 7 to 11 years. Given the tendency to withdraw girls as they reach puberty, this assumption overestimates female enrollments.

[42] Defined as the number of additional female enrollments necessary to attain the net enrollment ratio for males in primary schooling.

TABLE 4.2: Enrollment Deficits for Males and Females in Basic Education by Level and Source, 1987

PRIMARY	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
(1) Total Enrollments	3,636,054	3,244,250	6,880,304
(2) Enrollments Aged 7-11	2,821,064	2,517,079	5,338,143
(3) Estimated Population Aged 7-11.	3,451,000	3,280,000	6,731,000
(4) Estimated Net Enrollment Ratio (NER).	0.817	0.767	0.793
(5) Deficit in Female Enrollments with Respect to Male Enrollments.	0	164,000	164,000
(6) Remaining Deficit in Enrollments with Respect to Full Enrollment	629,936	598,921	1,228,857
(7) Total Enrollment Deficit	629,936	762,921	1,392,857
MIDDLE SCHOOL			
(1) Total Enrollments.	1,354,693	737,097	2,091,790
(2) Enrollments Aged 12-14.	875,179	476,191	1,351,370
(3) Estimated Population Aged 12-14.	1,975,000	1,830,000	3,805,000
(4) Estimated Net Enrollment Ratio (NER).	0.443	0.260	0.355
(5) Deficit in Female Enrollments with Respect to Male Enrollments.	0	334,890	334,890
(6) Remaining Deficit in Enrollments with Respect to Full Enrollment.	1,099,821	1,018,919	2,118,740
(7) Total Enrollment Deficit.	1,099,821	1,353,809	2,453,630
BASIC EDUCATION (7)			
(1) Total Enrollments.	4,990,747	3,981,347	8,972,094
(2) Enrollments Aged 7-14.	3,696,243	2,993,270	6,689,513
(3) Estimated Population Aged 7-14.	5,426,000	5,110,000	10,536,000
(4) Estimated Net Enrollment Ratio (NER).	0.681	0.585	0.635
(5) Deficit in Female Enrollments with Respect to Male Enrollments.	0	498,890	498,890
(6) Remaining Deficit in Enrollments with Respect to Full Enrollments.	1,729,757	1,617,840	3,347,597
(7) Total Enrollment Deficit.	1,729,757	2,116,730	3,846,487

(1) Statistics of National Education, Youth, and Sports: 1987/1988, (MOE/SIS).

(2) The figures for males and females assume the proportion of enrolled males and females in the relevant age group is the same as the reported proportion of t al enrollments in the relevant age group.

(3) SPO, "Turkish Population Projections for the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan (1990-1994), February 1989.

(4) Row 2 divided by Row 3.

(5) (Male NER - Female NER) x female population in the relevant age group.

(6) Row 3 -Row 2 -Row 5.

(7) Row 5 + Row 6.

TABLE 4.3: A Regional Comparison of Female Schooling and Literacy.

Country	Per Capita GNP (1989) ($)	Adult Literacy Rate (1985)		Primary Net Enrollment Ratio	Gross Enrollment Ratio			
					Primary		Secondary	
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Male	Female
Portugal	4250	88%	80%	100%	125%	127%	55%	63%
Spain	9330	96%	92%	100%	112%	110%	99%	111%
Yugoslavia	2920	96%	86%	N.A.	94%	94%	81%	79%
Greece	5350	96%	88%	97%	102%	102%	97%	93%
Jordan	1640	87%	63%	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Turkey	1370	86%	62%	79%	105%	99%	52%	34%
Iraq		91%	87%	84%	105%	87%	57%	37%

Source: World Development Report, 1991, except for the primary enrollment ratios for Turkey, which are from the Ministry of National Education.

4.10 The differences between male and female enrollments at every level result almost entirely from differences in the proportion of 7-year-old boys and girls who start primary school, and, thereafter, in the proportion of primary-school graduates who proceed to middle schooling.[39] The number of girls who began primary schooling in 1988 was 13 percent smaller than the number of boys who began primary schooling in that year.

4.11 Table 4.4 summarizes the promotion, repetition, and dropout rates for primary and secondary schooling. Repetition rates decline equally for boys and girls throughout primary schooling, and rise sharply thereafter - most markedly, for boys. Dropout rates also rise sharply - again, particularly for boys - after primary schooling. Taken together, these repetition and dropout rates constitute unusually high internal inefficiency by international standards. This is most apparent in the first years of middle schooling and secondary schooling, where only 52 percent of male students progress to the next level of schooling on schedule. In every grade beyond primary schooling, girls perform better than boys in terms of promotion rates. Yet the transition rates from primary schooling to middle schooling are much lower for girls than for boys. The proportion of primary-school graduates who progressed to middle schooling in 1988 was much lower for females (45.7 percent) than for males (65.8 percent). In contrast to this, the proportion of middle-school graduates entering secondary schooling in 1988 was virtually the same for males (27.9 percent) as for females (27.3 percent). The absolute number of secondary-school entrants, however, is much smaller for girls than for boys because of the cumulative effect of lower rates of girls' entry into primary and middle schooling, with a consequent smaller number of female middle-school completers. The principal challenge for reducing the male/female enrollment gap in primary and secondary schooling is to raise the proportion of 7-year-old girls who start primary school, and, particularly, to raise the proportion of girls completing primary school who progress to middle schooling.

[39] Single-year population estimates which might be used to estimate these proportions are subject to large variance because of errors in the exact age of the census population in the base year from which the population is projected.

TABLE 4.4: Promotion, Repetition and Dropout Rates by Grade for Males and Females (1987-1988)

Grade	Promotion		Repetition		Dropouts	
	Boys	Girls	Boy	Girls	Boy	Girls
Primary						
1	0.83	0.84	0.15	0.14	0.02	0.01
2	0.90	0.90	0.08	0.08	0.02	0.02
3	0.89	0.89	0.09	0.09	0.02	0.02
4	0.94	0.93	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.02
5	0.97	0.96	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02
Middle						
6	0.52	0.65	0.39	0.29	0.09	0.06
7	0.63	0.70	0.33	0.26	0.05	0.04
8	0.76	0.82	0.23	0.17	0.01	0.01
Secondary						
9	0.52	0.58	0.39	0.36	0.10	0.07
10	0.76	0.81	0.20	0.17	0.04	0.03
11	0.78	0.82	0.16	0.16	0.08	0.02

Source: Ministry of National Education.

4.12 *Trends.* Although sizeable male/female enrollment differentials are apparent at every level, there has been progress in reducing the gap between male and female enrollments. Table 4.5 summarizes the growth of male and female enrollments and graduates by level and type of program during the 1980s. Female enrollments and graduates grew faster than male enrollments and graduates in every schooling category except secondary vocational education. The pace at which female enrollments caught up with male enrollments was fastest in secondary general education, where female enrollments and graduates grew more than twice as fast as male enrollments and graduates.

TABLE 4.5: Growth of Enrollments in Formal Education and Training for Males and Females by Level and Type of Program, 1980/81 - 1987/88[1/]

	MALE	FEMALE
	%	
Primary Enrollments	2.2	3.2
Primary Graduates	2.9	4.0
Middle-School Enrollments	6.7	7.4
Middle-School Graduates	4.1	5.0
Secondary General Enrollments	2.3	6.1
Secondary General Graduates	2.5	5.0
Secondary Vocational Enrollments	8.8	5.2
Secondary Vocational Graduates	7.8	3.7

(1) Rates of growth of graduates are for the period 1980/81 - 1986/87.
Source: Statistical Yearbook of Turkey, 1989, Tables 89 and 90.

Attributes of the Out-of-School Population

4.13 In view of the Government's coeducation policy, we would expect to see roughly equal numbers of boys and girls in school if school availability alone determined school attendance. The figures on female enrollment deficits shown in Table 4.2 illustrate the impact of factors other than school availability which influence school attendance. The deficit of 500,000 girls in basic education indicates that efforts are needed to encourage girls' school attendance. What evidence do we have as to who the out-of school children are and why they are not in school? For girls in particular, what interventions appear most appropriate for improving school attendance? Unfortunately, there is little information available to answer these questions. A potentially valuable source of information, the semi-annual Household Labor-Force Surveys conducted by the State Institute of Statistics (SIS), collects information on school attendance and household characteristics, but the school enrollment information is not currently published. Enrollment information on household members is presented in the semiannual survey reports only in the form of highest level of schooling completed. The Bank is working with the SIS to try to change the format of presentation such that regional variations in school attendance can be distinguished and characteristics of households with differential school attendance can be analyzed in order to help identify appropriate interventions to raise school attendance. Also the Bank, together with MOE carried out in 1991 a selective field study in areas of the country with low girls' school attendance to identify the factors responsible. It is planned to use the results of this study as an early input to preparation of a project in support of basic schooling expansion in areas of greatest need. Study findings will be used to develop targeted interventions to improve girls' school attendance in areas of the country with deficient enrollments.

4.14 Published data on reported illiteracy rates from the 1985 Census of Population and on middle-school and secondary enrollments[21/] for the 1987/88 school year provide a useful view of regional differentials - including male/female differentials. Table 4.6 presents these data by province and region. Generally, male/female differentials in illiteracy and school attendance are greatest in provinces and regions with the highest levels of illiteracy and lowest levels of school attendance. Thus, the Eastern regions - the Black Sea and East and Southeast Anatolia - had the lowest enrollment ratios and the highest reported illiteracy rates for males and females of all the regions, and the largest male/female differentials in enrollment ratios for both middle schooling and secondary schooling. The Marmara Region (including Istanbul) and Central Anatolia (including Ankara) had the highest enrollment ratios and the lowest reported illiteracy rates for males and females, and the smallest male/female enrollment differentials of all the regions. In every region, the difference between male enrollments and female enrollments was greater at the middle-school level than at the secondary level. This pattern illustrates a general tendency for males to benefit first from an initial expansion in educational capacity, with girls' enrollments catching up at higher overall levels of educational coverage. It also illustrates the particularly rapid growth of female enrollments relative to male enrollments in secondary general education (para. 4.12).

[21/] Equivalent data for primary schooling are not available.

TABLE 4.6: Illiteracy Rates and Gross Enrollment Ratios by Region and Gender

REGIONS	Illiteracy Rate (1) (1985)		Gross Enrollment Ratios, 1987/88 (2)			
			Middle Schools		Secondary	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
			(%)			
Eastern Anatolia	21.9	49.4	51.4	21.2	33.1	12.6
Black Sea	14.8	33.8	62.0	30.4	41.7	18.5
Mediterranean	13.1	31.2	61.5	39.8	38.1	24.3
Marmara	8.1	20.6	82.9	60.5	45.1	38.4
Aegean	10.9	26.5	70.4	46.2	38.2	27.5
Central Anatolia	10.4	26.2	65.2	43.1	46.0	26.9
Southeast Anatolia	28.0	60.3	45.2	18.1	25.4	9.8

Source:
(1) Defined as the proportion of population over 6 years reported as unable to read and write. 1985 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics, Table 27.

(2) TUSAID Education Report, Turkiye de Egitime, 1990, Table 25.

Gender Aspects of Education and Training Programs

4.15 Within the Turkish National Education system, secondary school students make their own choices whether to attend general schools or vocational/technical schools according to their skills and interest areas. The students are oriented to the most appropriate program according to their skills and interest. Students who successfully complete middle schooling may proceed directly to a three-year program of general secondary education or may take an examination to enter a specific vocational secondary program. The purpose of the exam is to select appropriate students for the program. In Turkey, as in most countries, general secondary education tends to be the preferred form of secondary education, reflecting the fact that it is the normal route to higher education and higher-level jobs. But although general education attracts the best students completing middle schooling, many students opt for vocational education in the belief that it will improve their chances of getting a job at the completion of secondary schooling.

4.16 About one-third of students entering secondary schooling enroll in vocational programs. At the end of a common first year (grade 9), vocational students with good course performance in science and math subjects may enter a technical secondary program consisting of three additional years of classroom and workshop training in one of sixteen specializations. Other vocational students continue with two more years of vocational instruction, in which training is provided alternately in the vocational school and in an enterprise outside the school. Both the three-year vocational program and the four-year technical program are meant to be terminal, but students from both may proceed to higher education if they pass the national university entrance examinations. A significant number of technical secondary graduates progress to higher education; few vocational secondary graduates do so.

4.17 About one-quarter of vocational and technical secondary schools are gender neutral. For the most part, these are commercial and tourism schools, in which enrollments are about equally divided between boys and girls. Most vocational and technical schools are designated as boys' schools or girls' schools, depending upon the specializations which they offer. Originally, the separation of girls' schools in Turkey was undertaken to attract girls to the schools. About a third of vocational and technical schools

are designated as girls' schools, and are administered by the MOE's General Directorate of Technical Education for Girls. These schools offer training primarily in occupations (such as textiles, weaving, food processing, hairdressing and ceramics) which traditionally have attracted women (Chapter III and Annex 3). In addition to the traditional occupations, however, more recently programs for the industrial and service sectors such as travel agency, hotel management and tourism service; textile-design; electronics; office management, secretarial training and computers; food technology, food control and analysis have been included in the curriculum as a result of needs stemming from the social, economic and cultural development of the society. Boys can attend these schools, but few -- amounting to less than 1 percent of enrollments -- do. Analogously, boys' vocational and technical schools, administered by the MOE's General Directorate of Boys' Vocational Education, offer training in occupations which are typically male-dominated. Very few of these are hazardous or strenuous occupations (such as mining and foundry work) which may be said to be naturally limited to male workers; most are occupations (including most manufacturing and construction occupations) in which women can perform productively, and do so in most OECD countries. About 6 percent of enrollments in boys' vocational and technical schools are girls -- a larger proportion than in the converse case, but still a very small proportion of total enrollments. Within the non-formal education system, gender segregation also appears widespread, with boys enrolled exclusively in Apprenticeship Training Centers and girls primarily involved in Girls Applied Craft Schools (Annex 4, para. 32).

4.18 The continuing gender segregation of vocational education in Turkey, in name and in fact, reflects a still widespread view that many occupations are not suitable for women. The continuing separation of boys' and girls' vocational schools exacerbates this view. By eliminating the gender designation, the Government would help reduce perceptions that women belong in certain occupations, but not in others. Government intervention could also help to eliminate the existing gender bias in vocational education and training programs. A possible model for such efforts is a USAID-supported project in Morocco[22/] which set out to attract females to training programs in male-dominated occupations in manufacturing, construction, and the commercial sector. With relatively modest efforts to explicitly invite female applicants and to provide initial screening and counseling to them, the project achieved impressive results in attracting females to training programs for these occupations, and in placing them in appropriate jobs after completing the courses.

4.19 One of the early findings to emerge from the Joint Bank/MOE study "Factors Affecting Girls' School Attendance in Turkey" is that some regions in particular are willing to send their adolescent daughters to separate girls' schools, but not to coeducational schools[23/]. For these groups, the Government's policy of coeducation may frustrate the attainment of its goal of universal basic education. Moreover, the fact that all general secondary schools are coeducational constrains the career options of girls whose parents are opposed to coeducation, since these schools are the normal route of entry to most higher-level jobs. Parents who consider coeducation to be culturally unacceptable for their adolescent daughters can either send their daughters to a girls' vocational school (if one is available), withdraw them from school altogether, or send them to a religious school (Imam Hatip) - an option which

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[22/] Described in Margaret Lycette, "The Industrial and Commercial Job Training for Women Project in Morocco", USAID working paper, June, 1986; and in Laurel Elmer, "Guidelines for Increasing Female Participation in AID Training Programs for Asia and the Near East", USAID Working Paper, September, 1990.

[23/] In several cases, the centralized coeducational boarding schools which the Ministry of Education has built to provide schooling to children in remote villages have attracted only boys, and have consequently become *de facto* boys' schools.

has grown in importance recently. Although coeducational, these schools are often seen as acceptable by parents who would not send their daughters to a secular coeducational school. For the current generation, consideration could be given to establishing separate girls' boarding schools -- both middle schools and secondary general schools -- in remoter parts of the country with significant sensitivity to coeducation. This could be done without calling into question the basic policy of coeducation, since the establishment of single-sex schools would be temporary. It is expected that female education itself, together with increased attention to gender issues in the curricula would, over time, diminish the cultural sensitivity to coeducation.

4.20 In low-density rural areas, the dispersion of population favors boarding schools, particularly at the middle-school and secondary levels. The Ministry of Education has recently started a program to provide regional boarding schools for children from remote villages.[32] Although this is a promising approach to the problem of highly dispersed students, some aspects of the program in practice limit its effectiveness. For its regional boarding schools, as for its conventional schools, the Ministry's new policy is to establish integral eight-year "basic education schools" in place of existing five-year primary schools and middle schools (which are typically combined with secondary schools). The motivation for this change derives from the Government's wish to provide all the classes of compulsory schooling in the same school. While the neatness of this plan may be appealing, it is not necessary on pedagogical grounds to ensure quality education or integration of the basic schooling curriculum. The integrated basic education curriculum which the Ministry plans to develop (with support from the National Education Development Project) could as well be implemented under the existing formula of distinct primary and middle schools. The Ministry also intends to phase out the incomplete primary schools which exist in many rural areas. These schools have fewer than five classrooms -- one for each grade -- and thus resort to multi-grade teaching.[33] The Ministry (and many others in Turkey) consider that these incomplete primary schools cannot offer primary education of acceptable quality. Findings from other settings, however, show that small schools with multigrade teaching can provide education of equal or higher quality than conventional schools if teachers are selected and trained properly, and if the necessary educational materials are available.[34] There is, then, a compelling cost-effectiveness argument in favor of not changing the format of basic education as the Ministry proposes. Most parts of the country could be reached through conventional, five-year coeducational primary schools and incomplete primary schools without recourse to boarding, particularly if the Ministry is willing to make a serious effort to make multi-grade teaching work. Boarding schools are least appropriate for children in the first five grades, where parental and sibling support are vital to healthy child development. Moreover, girls' boarding schools are not necessary to ensure female school attendance at the primary level because there appears to be little resistance to coeducation at this level. Sensitivity to girls' attendance at coeducational schools generally begins at puberty, which often coincides with the start of middle schooling. The creation of boarding schools to serve a dispersed clientele makes most sense at the middle-school and secondary levels. To ensure that these schools attract girls, separate boarding

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[32] Currently, there are 102 of these schools, enrolling 19,000 males and 7,000 females in grades one through eight. There are no fees for attendance at these schools. Boarding students are also provided meals and uniforms at no charge; they also receive modest stipends to help defray the cost of transportation and educational materials.

[33] In which several classes are taught simultaneously in the same class by the same teacher.

[34] The evidence on this issue is reviewed in Marlaine E. Lockheed and Adriaan M. Verspoor, Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries: A Review of Policy Options, Background Report for the World Conference on Education for All, Bangkok, 1990, page 109.

schools could be established for the current generation of adolescent girls in areas of particular sensitivity to coeducation.

4.21 Other notable features of formal primary and secondary education which may affect girls' attendance are: a) the very limited role of private schools, accounting for less than 1 percent of enrollments at the primary level, and less than 4 percent at the middle-school and secondary levels, and b) the prevalence of out-of-school, paid tutorial instruction to improve secondary students' chances of success in the national university entrance examinations. Private schooling in Turkey, while limited, benefits boys disproportionately. Greater attention to the provision of private schooling for girls should be encouraged, especially if the role of private education increases. There is no direct evidence available on male-female differences in tutorial instruction, but it is likely that here, as in private schooling, boys benefit from household education expenditures more often than girls.

Conclusions and Recommendations

4.22 The paragraphs above have summarized some of the principal issues of female education in Turkey. This section provides a brief recapitulation of findings and recommendations in the two main issue areas. These relate, first, to the coverage of the education system in terms of girls' enrollments, and, second, to the biases of the existing system in terms of orientation to future careers.

4.23 *Education Coverage.* The current coverage of the education system is incomplete, especially for girls. This is a particular concern at the basic education level, where the Government appropriately aspires to provide schooling for all Turkish children. There are now about 2.1 million girls of primary and middle-school age who should be attending school but are not (para 4.8 and Table 4.2). Most of these -- about 1.6 million girls -- are not attending school because no school is available. But it appears that a large number -- about 500,000 -- are not in school because of other factors. Work is now in progress to determine what these constraints are. Evidence from other settings suggests that the reasons are likely to be cultural and economic, and that Government policy could help reduce the constraints to girls' school attendance through actions, inter alia, such as raising the proportion of female teachers and providing better transportation.[27]. To improve girls' school attendance, the following specific actions are recommended:

- Expand the schooling infrastructure, starting at the primary level, then at the middle-school level.

- In doing so, retain the existing structure of school delivery, with generally separate primary schools and middle schools. There is no convincing reason to establish integral eight-year basic education schools as the Government proposes, either for reasons of cost-effectiveness, pedagogical effectiveness, or access (para. 4.20).

- In the program to expand basic education infrastructure, use the results of the study on factors influencing girls' school attendance (para. 4.13) to develop targeted interventions specifically designed to reduce the barriers to girls' school attendance in areas of the country with deficient enrollments.

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[27]/See, e.g., Rosemary Bellew and Elizabeth M. King, Promoting Girls' and Women's Education: Lessons from the Past, World Bank PRE Working Paper No. 715 (July, 1991).

- On an exceptional basis to improve girls' continuation in schooling beyond the primary level in the remoter areas, develop girls' middle schools and girls' general secondary schools (para. 4.20).

4.24 *Bias in Education Programs.* To address the bias in education programs which limits girls' education and career prospects (paras. 4.17 and 4.18), the following actions are recommended:

- Eliminate the designation of separate boys' and girls' vocational schools, and the corresponding distinction in the administrative structure of the Ministry of Education.

- Conduct active programs to attract girls to male-dominated secondary vocational programs.

- Support the expansion of job-oriented training for women, such as that offered by IIBK (para. 4.4).

CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT AND NGOS IN WOMEN'S DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

5.01 In 1926, Turkey became the first Islamic country to eliminate the Sharia, the legal code that underlies the segregation of the sexes and differential legal treatment. This was followed in the 1930s by the right to vote in national elections and stand for office (1934) and the opening up of public offices and the professions (law, medicine, finance) and the universities to the appointment of female faculty in 1932-33. With these far-reaching reforms and the tremendous progress realized by women in entering public office and the professions through the mid-1940s, the prevailing view was that there was no need to address women's issues independently of the general development process. For the majority of women, however, their position was unchanged - gender-neutral policies were not sufficient to ensure what had been provided by law. Coinciding with the resurgence in interest in women's issues in the mid-eighties, there has been an acceptance within Government of the need for a special emphasis on women's issues.

Development Plans and Government Policies

5.02 In the first five Five-Year Plans (1960-1984), women's issues were not explicitly addressed. Nonetheless, Government plans and policies aiming at social change affected women in four main areas: population policy, education, employment and working conditions and social security.

5.03 In terms of *population policy*, the main issues relating to women since 1960 have been the measures to reduce population growth. With the establishment of SPO in 1960, the existing pro-natalist policies were brought into question. The first plan introduced a policy advocating low population growth and the second, following the passing of the 1965 Population Planning Law, introduced national family planning programs and set a plan target of providing family planning services to 25% of women of child-bearing age. These targets have been raised in subsequent plans. The current Sixth Plan (1990-94) contains no targets for the provision of family planning services but with a contraceptive acceptance rate of 77%, Turkey has one of the highest acceptance rates in the world (WDR, 1991).

5.04 Although all of the plans provided for some improvement in the *general education* system, until the Sixth Plan, there had been no special consideration of women's educational needs. The Second Plan, however, was critical of Girls Technical and Vocational Schools on the grounds that these schools channeled girls into "female" occupations. Although not part of the Fourth Plan, *per se*, the adult literacy campaign initiated by the Government in 1981 is significant for helping 2.9 million women learn to read and write between 1981-87.

5.05 With the greater majority of women working in the agricultural sector as unpaid family labor, for the most part women were not specifically addressed in the *employment policies* of the early plans. The Fifth Five-Year Plan, however, provided manpower projections by gender. Specifically, the male labor supply was projected to increase by over 20% between 1980-89, while the female labor supply remained unchanged. The current plan provides no breakdown by gender. Both the Fifth and Sixth

plans, however, note that increased female employment will increase the demand for day-care and that growth in such facilities is to be encouraged.

5.06 In accordance with the Constitution, which states that everybody has the right to *social insurance,* the Sixth Plan has as an objective, increasing the proportion of the labor force covered by social insurance, and of women explicitly. As noted in Chapter II, approximately 6% of the female labor force is covered by the Social Insurance Institute, compared to 22% of the male labor force. The agricultural labor force, however, where three-quarters of employed women work, is largely outside the social insurance system, nor is it covered by labor legislation. The majority of working women are, therefore, without such protection. Notwithstanding the Plan objectives, little progress has been realized, to date.

5.07 The current Plan's broad objectives, include the "protection and education of women..." (para. 29). More specifically, the Plan states that "the appropriate environment will be created for promoting the employment of women in non-agricultural sectors by raising their education levels and providing women wider opportunities for vocational training" (para. 766). Unlike the Fifth Plan, however, no projections of the labor supply by gender are provided. "Measures will be developed to eliminate the difficulties that working women encounter in such areas as social insurance, health, vocational training and re-employment and increased facilities for childcare services for them will be encouraged" (para. 767). To date, however, little has been done to further these objectives. The 1991 Annual Program contained three specific women's objectives, namely: to design measures to improve women's education and to facilitate their employment in sectors other than agriculture; to initiate a system for collecting gender-disaggregated data; and to determine the problems women encounter in their working life and the use made of their legal rights. To date, little progress has been realized in implementing these measures.

Current Role of Government in Women's Development

5.08 Following several decades of relative quiescence, women's role in Turkey became once again a central issue in the mid-1980s, in large part as a result of two diametrically opposed groups - the religious, conservative groups and the secularist women. For the former, the issue concerned women's role within the family, as mother and wife, although publicly the debate was over the right of women to wear headscarves in educational institutions and government offices. Simultaneously, proposals by some conservative groups to segregate men and women in public life, including hospitals and schools, heightened the debate. The women's group addressed the issue through its focus on women's rights and articles of the Constitution and the Civil and Criminal Codes that discriminate against women. While the women's movement remained largely informal and apolitical, the conservatives through their influence in the then ruling party, acquired considerable influence through early 1991.

5.09 In response to these two movements, Government in the second half of the decade took a number of steps to address women's issues. These included ratification of two international legal conventions; a specific focus on women's issues in the Sixth Plan and the establishment of a Government Directorate to address the role of women.

5.10 Specifically, at the end of the United Nations Decade for Women in 1985, the Government ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), which committed Government to remove any legislation discriminatory to women, to promote equality between men and women and to introduce measures to eliminate customary practices that

reinforce the subordination of women to men. In 1989, Government also signed the European Social Charter of the EC. Both measures were ratified with a number of reservations (Annex 1). In December 1989, in response to the conservative movement, the Government established the Family Research Institute (FRI) under the Prime Ministry. The FRI was charged with preserving and strengthening the Turkish family, which was seen as threatened by social and economic development. In April 1990 the Directorate General for Women's Status and Problems (DGWSP) was established under the Ministry of Labor (para. 5.16 below) with the sole task of improving women's status and promoting their full integration into the economy.

5.11 Taken together, these developments suggest an uncertain commitment of the previous Government to the role of women. In view of their significance to the role of women over the coming decade, these legal and institutional developments are reviewed briefly below.

CEDAW

5.12 The Convention was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979 and went into effect in 1981; Turkey was the 83rd country to ratify in 1985. Together with Turkey's human rights record, women's status has always been perceived as an important determinant of EC membership and the ratification of CEDAW is seen, in part, as an attempt to strengthen Turkey's application. As with other UN conventions, governments are allowed to place reservations on articles if they conflict with existing national legislation, with the expectation that governments will quickly comply. The United Nations, however, has no means of ensuring compliance other than applying public pressure if a country's periodic implementation reports reveal inadequate progress.

5.13 Turkey along with almost half of the CEDAW signatories, submitted several reservations to specific articles which conflict with the Turkish Civil Code.[28] One of the major issues concerns the definition in the Civil Code of the husband as the head of the family. As such, the husband chooses the place of domicile, is responsible for the economic support of the family and in the case of disagreement, the husband's view prevails in all matters over issues relating to the household and family. In addition, there are numerous contradictions (Annex 1) with Turkey's labor legislation.

5.14 The initial Government progress report to CEDAW (September 1989) states that work on amendments to the Civil Code that would remove the reservations is underway. The legal commission appointed to review the Civil Code, however, submitted its recommendations to the Ministry of Justice in 1984 but the recommendations have not been brought before the National Assembly, notwithstanding pressure from women's organizations. The newly appointed Government, however, is planning an early consideration of the commission's proposals.

European Social Charter

5.15 In 1989, the Government also became a signatory to the European Social Charter, placing a reservation on numerous articles. Article 8, on the right of employed women to protection presents the major issue for women (see Annex 1 for details). Progress in compliance with the Charter, and the

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[28] Until November 1990, when the Constitutional Court ruled it unconstitutional, married women could engage in paid work only with their husband's permission (Article 159).

Charter's Action Program that is close to being finalized with far-reaching labor recommendations, will be important for Turkey's acceptance to the EC.

The Directorate General for the Status and Problems of Women

5.16 The DGWSP was authorized by decree under the Prime Ministry in April 1990 and subsequently by Law 3670 under the Ministry of Labor on October 25, 1990. In June 1991, the newly appointed Cabinet re-instated the Directorate within the Prime Ministry and in November 1991 the Directorate was placed under the newly created Ministry of State for Women, Family and Social Services. The Directorate General was established, in large part, as a result of efforts of the then Minister of Labor, the only woman in the cabinet, and pressure from women's groups. The goals of the Directorate General include improving the educational level of Turkish women; increasing their employment in productive sectors and thereby strengthening their economic independence; ensuring the legal, health and social rights (including social insurance) of women; and promoting the equality of women in the social, economic, cultural and political arenas.

5.17 To realize these goals, the DGWSP is to develop and implement programs and policies in line with Ataturk's legacy to enhance women's status; act as an advocacy center for women; coordinate, direct and support the activities of both government and non-governmental organizations and regional authorities responsible for addressing issues and problems concerning women; undertake research and develop a database to underpin efforts to improve the status of women, including their legal rights; undertake studies of women's issues in the European community and other countries; and to "contribute and participate in studies implemented by international organizations...on women's issues". The Directorate is also charged with ensuring compliance with international conventions on women's issues.

5.18 With the establishment of the Ministry of State for Women, the DGWSP is now actively pursuing its objectives of developing programs and policies and considering means of successfully integrating women's issues into the line ministries. Specifically, the DGWSP will ensure progress through policies and programs to improve the health, social, economic and educational position of women. The DGWSP is being actively supported in its activities by a recently agreed five-year cooperative program with UNDP.

Family Research Institute

5.19 The first step towards implementing the recommendations of the SPO report was the establishment by decree of the Family Research Institute (FRI) in December 1989 under the Prime Ministry. The Decree states that the objective of the Institute is to channel increased public awareness on family problems, undertake research on the effects of economic, social and cultural change on the family and to "carry out research on the effects of family planning and to develop a national policy on family planning". These activities are to be implemented "in accordance with existing laws, national security policy...".

5.20 In contrast to the Directorate General, the Institute was both well funded and staffed. By March 1991, the Institute was fully functioning with 75 higher level staff on board, an active research program and a full schedule of conferences and seminars and media events programmed. In addition, the Institute had established in conjunction with Halk Bank the Family Credit Program to provide credit to families to engage in income-generating activities within the home (Chapter III). By mid-1991, 2700 credits had been extended, 85% to women and the majority for carpet weaving. Homebased production

was advocated by the FRI on the grounds that it minimizes conflicts with women's domestic responsibilities and, in particular, with childcare.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

5.21 At the turn of the century in Turkey, there were several active and articulate groups, such as the Red-White and the Ottoman Association of Women's Rights, calling for the elimination of discrimination in the family, laws, career development and social norms. With the granting of rights, the opening up of the professions and the gender-neutrality of Government policies and plans, women's groups in Turkey became less active until the mid-1980s. The 1982 Constitution which forbade the association of youths and women also reduced their effectiveness to respond to issues in the 1980s. In part as a result of the austerity measures of the early 1980s, but also as a result of the resurgence of conservatism within Turkey and the focus on women's issues internationally, women's groups are again becoming increasingly active.

5.22 In 1991, there were approximately 25 registered NGOs with an orientation towards women's issues. As of July 1992, there are now over 50. For the most part, these are organizations of professional groups (jurists, academics, nurses or village teachers), cultural groups (Turkish/Japanese, Turkish/American women), or charitable organizations (protection of children, assistance to the sick and disabled, women's association against separation). The NGOs most involved in addressing issues relating to the integration and status of women are discussed below.

The National Council of Turkish Women

5.23 The Council was founded in 1959 and its aims include addressing issues of women as mother, wife, citizen and individual. The Council is involved in particular in addressing the problems of working women and in promoting women's education and in advocating legal reform. To this end, the Council provides some financial support to women of limited means, initiates programs to promote the education of women and provides some scholarships. The Council brings attention to women's issues through the organization of conferences, seminars and through its publications. Its work is carried out through some 20 sub-committees focusing, inter alia, on issues such as the law, status of women, women and employment, migration and the media. The Council includes amongst its membership a number of women who were active in the 1930s with Ataturk and later in the 1950s with the women's movement. Many of these women have made a significant contribution to the standing of women and, most notably, through their efforts at legal reform. Nonetheless, the NGO is very much an Ankara/Istanbul organization of professional and intellectual women. Although it maintains regional offices, including some in the south-eastern areas, the organization does not have a grass roots focus, nor does it appear to have a significant following amongst the current generation of women. The National Council is affiliated to the International Council of Women and the European Center for the International Council of Women; through these organizations the Council maintains close contact with both the UN and the EC.

The Turkish Federation of Women's Institutes

5.24 Founded in 1976, this is an umbrella organization for some 10 to 12 women's groups. The membership of the governing board of the Federation appears to overlap with that of the National Council, as do many of its activities.

The Foundation for Support for Contemporary Living

5.25 Established in the mid-1980s, the Foundation was established to address and alleviate the problems faced by women today and to advocate legal reform and change. The Foundation includes among its members prominent academics and professionals in the major cities.

The Foundation for the Advancement and Recognition of Turkish Women

5.26 The Foundation was established in April 1986 with the objective of supporting women in all walks of life. Specifically, the Foundation is working to strengthen the economic position of women through generating additional means of obtaining income, increasing their skill levels and establishing marketing organizations for their production. The Foundation's work is accomplished through 12 activities groups covering topics such as international relations, press and promotion, agricultural work, tourism, handicrafts and health. The Foundation has realized a considerable measure of success in its activities in large part because of its fund raising skills and media ability. These activities have been further facilitated by the establishment of some 70 regional offices throughout most of the country. Major activities include:

- The Foundation has also been active in the area of women's health through the establishment of mobile health buses, each of which are staffed with a gynecologist, nurse and support personnel to provide gynecological services and instruction in birth control in the remoter areas to families of limited incomes. More recently, the Foundation has opened mother/child health centers in priority rural areas;

- Recognizing the importance of education, the Foundation has been active in providing scholarships for talented and needy girls, setting up vocational training courses and establishing and operating boarding houses for female students who need a place to stay;

5.27 Although not a women's organization per se, the Turkish Development Foundation (TDF) administers income-generating projects directed at both men and women in a number of areas in the priority development regions. The Foundation has been particularly innovative and active in involving villagers in the design and implementation of their projects. The TDF is developing a project concept to strengthen women's position in rural communities primarily through the establishment of an animator system, by which women with strong leadership qualities within the villages are recruited and trained to act as a catalyst in overcoming traditional attitudes.

Conclusions and Areas for Intervention

5.28 The institutional measures adopted by the previous Government reflected the prevailing incongruent views on women's issues. Beginning with the delays in ratification of CEDAW and the amendments to the Turkish Civil Code that would have brought Turkey in compliance with CEDAW, and the establishment of the Directorate General for Women simultaneously with the Family Research Institute, the measures suggested that women's rights and status were pursued, at least in part, as a means of attaining other objectives of government policy. The establishment of the Ministry of State for Women is a very positive step that sends clear signals as to Government's intentions to strengthen the standing of women. However, the DGWSP remains understaffed and underfinanced, handicapped by the

relocations and needs still to develop a clear agenda. Support to this end, however, is being provided by a recently agreed UNDP project and is expected to assist the DGWSP in becoming fully operational.

5.29 Effective institutions and procedures are needed to monitor and improve the situation of women in Turkey; to identify the causes (both traditional and new) of discrimination; to assist in the formulation of policies and implementation of measures to end discrimination. These policies and procedures need to be an integral part of Turkey's development strategy. As noted in earlier chapters, the alleviation of discrimination and constraints to women's full participation will require both enforcement and evaluation of legislation, the education of the entire population as to the contribution of women through both formal and non-formal channels, including government agencies, the media, non-governmental organizations, political party platforms and executive action. To be effective, the DGWSP need to be assured of adequate resources, commitment and authority. With this, the DGWSP can play a vital role in improving the position of women through formulating a clear agenda; collaborative action with the line ministries and other agencies, both governmental and non-governmental; in undertaking research both to increase awareness of women's contribution and to increase their productivity; and disseminating information on women's rights and entitlements.

5.30 In light of experience with national machineries elsewhere in the 1980s, the following measures should be considered.

- Ensure that all line ministries and agencies see women's development as an integral and priority element of *national development* and therefore as part of their regular responsibilities - not a responsibility that can be passed on to the Ministry of State for Women.

- Establish an inter-ministerial committee chaired at least initially by the Prime Minister, with representatives from the line ministries and agencies. Each representative should present a timebound action plan for promoting the welfare and productivity of women in their ministry or agency and be required to report progress in its implementation to the committee on a regular basis.

- Establish women's units at the highest levels within the key line ministries (for instance, Labor, Education, Agriculture), responsible for implementing and monitoring the action plans and for ensuring that women's issues are integrated into all ministry programs and policies.

- Ensure that people of the highest caliber are appointed to key positions involved with the formulation, implementation and monitoring of policies and programs to improve the status of women.

- Ensure a sustained effort to raise the visibility of women's issues, in general, and their contribution, in particular. This can be realized through, *inter alia*, moral suasion (media campaigns, revision of curricula and textbooks, TV, etc.), publication of an annual statistical report on the status of women and undertaking and publishing a broad-based program of research on women's issues.

ANNEX 1

THE LEGAL ENVIRONMENT

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ANNEX 1

THE LEGAL ENVIRONMENT

Treatment of Women Under the General Legal Framework

1. This annex examines the treatment of women under the country's legal framework, both as the law is written and as it is carried out in practice, in light of traditional, cultural practices. It also attempts both to identify specific constraints to the ability of women to contribute to the development process that are imbedded in the legal framework and to indicate where remedial measures could improve the treatment of women. The annex addresses the position of women under the 1982 Constitution, the Civil Code and specific legal areas that affect women's contribution to the economic process, namely the Laws on Banking and Credit, Education and Labor Legislation. With respect to the latter, the annex addresses not only the constraints to women but to workers, in general, and identifies remedial measures. The annex also addresses the Government's performance in meeting its obligations under the relevant interventional conventions which the country has ratified.

The 1982 Constitution

2. The relevant articles of the 1982 Constitution pertaining to women are: Articles 10, 41, 49, 50 and 70. In brief, these are:

Article 10: Equality Before the Law. All individuals are equal without discrimination before the law, irrespective of language, race, color, sex, political opinion, philosophical belief, religion and sect, or any such considerations. No privilege shall be granted to any individual, family, group or class. State organs and administrative authorities shall act in compliance with the principle of equality before the law in all their proceedings.

Article 41: Protection of the Family. The family is the foundation of Turkish society and the State is to take the necessary measures and establish the necessary organization to ensure the peace and welfare of the family, especially the protection of the mother and children. This article also specifies the State's responsibility for education and family planning.

Article 49: Right and Duty to Work. Everyone has the right and duty to work. The State shall take the necessary measures to improve the standard of living of workers, to protect and to improve the general conditions of labor, and to create an environment conducive to full-employment. The State shall take facilitating and protecting measures to maintain harmonious employer-employee relations.

Article 50: Working Conditions and the Right to Rest and Leisure. No one shall be required to perform work unsuited to his age, sex or capacity. Minors, women and persons with physical or mental disabilities, shall enjoy special protection with regard to working conditions. All workers have the right to rest and leisure. Rights and conditions relating to paid holidays and leave shall be regulated by law.

Article 70: Entry Into Public Service. Every Turk has the right to enter the public service. No criteria other than qualification for the office concerned shall be taken into consideration for recruitment into the public service.

3. As can be seen from the above articles, the 1982 Constitution specifies equality before the law and prohibits discrimination based on sex. Everyone has the right and duty to work and the State is obliged to establish protective measures for all those in the paid labor market. No one shall be required to perform work unsuitable to his age, capacity or sex and women are to enjoy special protection regarding working conditions. In the case of applications for public service, no discrimination can be made other than the qualifications necessary for the type of work to be performed. Occupations closed to women are, therefore, open to discussion in the light of this provision. In the case of discrimination based on sex, an applicant may apply to the courts for the annulment of the administrative act and can claim unconstitutionality of such discrimination.[59] In practice, however, few claims are filed, reflecting that only a minority of educated women are willing to seek legal redress.

The Civil Code

4. The Turkish Civil Code was adapted from the Swiss Civil Code in 1926. This constituted an important break with tradition and religious norms. The secularization of law, put into effect by Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey, was a milestone in Turkey's social development.

5. To better understand the position of women in Turkey, the impact of the early Republican era reforms need to be taken into account.[60] Today, Turkey remains the only Islamic country which has eliminated the Sharia; as such, women's position before the law is the most egalitarian of Islamic countries. By eliminating segregation and differential legal treatment of women the reforms cleared the way for comprehensive changes in the position of women. Specifically, they paved the way for women to enter all walks of life, including public office and the professions. At the time, women were given strong encouragement and support to enter all fields. In the 1920's, when even the BBC and many American radio stations could not consider the employment of a woman announcer, Turkish radio employed women as both announcers and technicians.[61] In Parliament, the number of female deputies reached a peak of 18 in 1934. Although first admitted to academic positions in 1932-33, by 1946-47, 44% of all faculty in the Faculty of Natural Sciences and 22% of the Humanities Faculty were women.[62]

6. Today, amongst the professions there remains a marked absence of sex-typing, which is thought to be the result of the encouragement to women in the early Republican era. Nonetheless, and while the educated urban Turkish woman is well-represented in the professions and public office

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[59] In Turkey, citizens may not apply to the Constitutional Court directly but during a trial in the lower courts, can bring a claim of unconstitutionality and if the court finds the claim serious, may send it to the Constitutional Court.

[60] See Kagitcibaşi in OECD and GOT, 1989.

[61] Kirby (1960).

[62] See Acar in OECD and GOT, 1989.

compared to many middle-income developing countries, there appears to have been a decline in their participation between the early 1950s and mid-1980s. The position and status of the majority of Turkish women, including their legal standing, however, appears to have changed little since the beginning of the Republican era.

7. While the provisions of the Civil Code regarding women's issues were progressive at the time of adoption some have proved to be insufficient for society today. Accordingly, Switzerland passed significant amendments regarding women's rights in 1984. In Turkey, a commission was appointed to prepare amendment proposals and although its report was submitted in 1984, to date, the Ministry of Justice has not brought it before the Assembly in the form of a law proposal. The new Government intends to do this in the near future.

8. The Civil Code consists of five books addressing the Law of Persons, Law of Family, Law of Inheritance, Law of Property and the Law of Obligations; these books are considered separately below.

9. ***Law of Persons***. The relevant provisions relating to women are as follows:

- All persons are the subject of rights (Article 8).

- The Turkish law makes a distinction between the ability to be the subject of rights and the capacity to act. There are different degrees of capacity - full capacity, limited capacity, partial disability and full incapacity. A married woman is considered as one with partial disability, with her capacity limited only in cases explicitly cited by the law.

- Majority is acquired at age 18 or upon marriage (Article 11).

- A married woman has her husband's domicile. She is allowed to have a domicile other than her husband's, when the domicile of the husband is not known or the wife is entitled to live separately (Article 21).

10. ***Law of Family***. The relevant provisions can be summarized as follows:

- Engagement takes place with the reciprocal promises of the parties to marry. It is considered as a contract but not an enforceable contract. It does not compel any of the parties to marry (Article 82,83).

- Major persons may get married without the consent of the statutory representatives. The marriage age is 17 for boys and 15 for girls, but they need to have the written approval of their statutory representatives. Under extraordinary conditions, a 15 year-old-boy or a 14 year-old-girl may marry with the permission of the court (Article 88,90).

- A waiting period of 300 days (the maximum pregnancy period) is specified for a divorced woman before she may remarry. In case of confinement, the waiting period ends. If a woman proves that she's not pregnant or if the former spouses want to remarry, the waiting period may be shortened by the judge (Article 95).

- Only civil marriages performed by authorized marriage officers are considered as valid. After the civil marriage, if the spouses so desire, a religious marriage (imam marriage) is permitted (Article 108,110). Nonetheless, religious marriages without a civil marriage are prevalent; neither the wife nor the children of religious marriages, however, are recognized under the law. Thus, from time to time amnesty laws are enacted which permit the registration of such marriages and the children thereof.

- Turkish family law is based on the concept of the traditional family in which the husband is the head of the family and responsible for supporting the family and the wife is the homemaker (Article 152). By law the wife is required to bear her husband's surname (Article 153). The husband has the legal standing to represent the family, whereas the wife can represent the family only for continuing needs of the family (Article 155). In case the wife misuses her right to represent the family, this right can be lifted by her husband against which the wife can apply to the court (Article 155-158). The wife cannot become a guarantor for her husband's debts unless she is permitted by a court decision (Act.169). Article 159, which required a wife to obtain her husband's permission to perform any type of paid work, was annulled by the Constitutional Court on the basis of unconstitutionality in November 1990.

- The matrimonial property system provides for the separation of property such that each spouse retains the ownership and administration of all his present and future property capital and income (Article 170). Each spouse retains control of his individual earnings and is solely responsible for his own debts incurred before or after the marriage. In case of divorce, each spouse takes back his own property. While this system of property separation works well in general, it is the practice in Turkey to have the immovable property acquired during the marriage registered in the husband's name, which creates difficulty for the wife in case of the death of the husband or divorce.

- Grounds for divorce are the same for both spouses. The judge has wide discretionary powers in deciding custody of the children and the amount of support. After divorce, the ex-wife resumes her maiden name, although with cause and the permission of the judge, she may carry her ex-husband's name (Article 141).

- The Family Law also includes provisions regarding the parent-child relationship. Both spouses have authority over the children, but in case of dispute, the husband's views prevail (Article 263). A child born outside of marriage is considered an illegitimate child and carries the mother's surname. With acknowledgement by the father or a court decision, a legal relationship can be established between the father and the child (Article 290-305).

- If a woman is appointed as a guardian or curator by a judge, she may refuse the guardianship or curatorship whereas a man may not (Article 366, 381).

11. ***Law of Succession***. The Law of Succession does not distinguish female and male heirs. However, in order to avoid partition of agricultural land, the court will grant ownership to the heir most able to manage the land. In the case that there is more than one heir desirous, male children are given priority (Article 597-598).

12. The surviving spouse, as an heir, shares the estate with the living blood relatives of the deceased (if any), the portion varying according to the closeness of the other heirs. If the surviving spouse inherits together with the descendants, the survivor receives one-quarter of the estate.[62] If there are no descendants, the surviving spouse inherits together with the parents of the deceased and their descendants and the survivor's share increases to one-half, and to three-quarters if the survivor inherits together with the grandparents of the deceased (Article 444). The inheritance laws, per se, make no distinction between husband and wife or sons and daughters.

13. ***Law of Property***. The Law of Property accords women equal right to hold title, convey land and ability to record property ownership.

14. ***Law of Obligations***. The Law of Obligations covers contracts and torts; there is no distinction between males and females.

The Law on Banks and Credit Regulations

15. The Law on Banks and Credit Regulations does not contain any provision supporting discrimination by gender. However, due to Article 159 of the Civil Code, which was annulled in November 1990, the banks required a married woman to obtain her husband's permission in case of her obtaining credit for her work or business. It is assumed that this requirement will cease with the annulment of Article 159, since legally it is now without foundation.

Abortion Laws

16. Under the Turkish Criminal Code, abortion is a crime and the sentence for willingly aborting a child is 1 to 4 years of imprisonment (Article 469). However an exception is provided by the Law on Population Planning (1983); up to the tenth week of pregnancy, a woman can demand abortion (Article 5). If the woman is married, she must have her husband's approval and in the case of a single minor, the statutory representative's approval is necessary (Article 6). After the tenth week, abortion is permitted on medical grounds if the pregnancy threatens the health of the woman or would result in the child being seriously disadvantaged (Article 5). The change in the abortion laws is not an outcome of the women's movement but of Government's population policies.

Education Laws

17. According to Article 42 of the Constitution "No one shall be deprived of the right of learning and education. Primary education is compulsory for all citizens of both sexes and is free of

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[62] The Article on usufructuary rights was amended on November 14, 1990.

charge in State schools". This is also stated in the Law on Primary Schooling and Education (No. 10705). Primary education lasts for five years and covers children from the 6-14 age group. Beginning in the 1988-89 academic year, the duration of compulsory primary education was extended to eight years and in the year 2000, it will be extended to ten years. The new Government has affirmed its support of the extension of compulsory education to eight years and emphasizes that the education has to have a secular nature (Government Program, November 1991, p. 45). Thus, the laws regarding universal schooling do not contribute to the lower educational attainment of women in Turkey.

Nationality Laws

18. According to the Turkish Nationality Code, children born of Turkish fathers and/or mothers acquire Turkish nationality at birth (Article 1). Turkey, however, has made a reservation to Article 9 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) granting women equal rights with men regarding nationality, since the articles regarding acquisition or loss of Turkish nationality by means other than birth differ for women and men. For example, a foreign woman married to a Turkish man can acquire Turkish nationality if she declares her willingness in written form and forwards it to the marriage officer at the time of her marriage or to the Turkish authorities in case the marriage has been concluded by foreign authorities abroad (Article 5,42). However, in the case of a Turkish woman married to a foreign husband, the man may acquire Turkish nationality by applying to the Ministry of Interior and obtaining a proposal of the Ministry and a decision of the Council of Ministers (Article 7). Also a Turkish woman married to a foreigner loses Turkish nationality if her husband's national law attributes nationality to her and she declares her willingness to acquire the husband's nationality (Article 19). This article does not apply to a Turkish man married to a foreign woman.

Laws on Political Rights of Women

19. The right to vote and to be elected was first granted to Turkish women for local elections in 1930, and subsequently for national elections in 1934. Eighteen women entered parliament in 1934, forming 4.5% of the total number of parliamentarians and with the exception of Finland, this was then the highest percentage in the world. This, however, is the highest percentage ever reached in Turkey.[44]

20. The 1982 Constitution, within its policy of depolitization, proscribes the formation of women's or youth branches by the political parties on the grounds that they are discriminatory (Article 68/6). This is apparently being reversed by the new Government. It is also significant that to promote women's involvement in politics, the SHP Party in 1990 instituted a quota of 25% for women for its central administrative organs.

Recent Institutional Arrangements

21. In the mid-1980's, women's role in Turkey became again a central issue, largely as a result of two diametrically opposed groups - the right wing, and in response to this group's efforts to retraditionlize Turkish culture, the women's movement. In response to these groups, the Government established in December 1989 the Family Research Institute, under the Prime Ministry, charged with preserving and strengthening the Turkish family and in April 1990, the Directorate General of Women's

[44] In the new Government, 8 out of 450 deputies are women.

Status and Problems under the Ministry of Labor, charged with strengthening the position of women in Turkey.[45]

The Directorate General of Women's Status and Problems (DGWSP)

22. The establishment of the Directorate under the Prime Ministry was announced in a statutory decree published in the Official Gazette of April 20, 1990. On submission to the National Assembly in June 1990, the decree was approved with some amendments; namely, its attachment to the Ministry of Labor. The duties of the Directorate are as follows (Article 2):

a) to prepare policies and programs that conform to Atatürk's principles and reforms, for the protection and development of women's status and for the resolution of women's problems;

b) to provide for the integration of women into society through participation in social, economic and political decisions;

c) to compile studies made in Turkey or abroad on the status and problems of women;

d) to compile statistical data by age and gender to serve as a basis for the resolution of problems related to women;

e) to help facilitate cooperation and coordination between concerned agencies, support voluntary organizations active in this field and follow all activities of local governments regarding women;

f) to follow, support and direct education activities for woman especially those of local governments, and to create a public interest in women's status and problems;

g) to provide for Turkey's participation and coordination in international workshops; and

h) to be involved in activities of documentation, publication and presentation.

The organizational structure of the Directorate calls for four divisions, namely: economic and social problems; legal and cultural status; external relations; and personnel and finance. The duties of each division are listed in the law. Provision was made for 20 personnel, of which 8 are higher level, including the director-general.

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[45] The Directorate was transferred to the Prime Ministry in June 1991 and in November 1991 a Ministry for Women and Family was established. See Chapter V for details.

The Family Research Institute (FRI)

23. The Institute was established through a statutory decree of December 1989 with the objective to undertake research and develop and implement projects to protect and strengthen the integrity of the Turkish family so as to increase its social welfare. The FRI is also empowered to help formulate a national policy regarding the family (Article 1). The duties conferred upon the Institute are as follows (Article 3):

a) to analyze the existing family structure; problems internal to the family; economic, social and cultural influences on the family; and to prepare educational programs on such issues;

b) in coordination with the Ministry of Education to prepare programs to strengthen the family in all respects and, in particular, in regards to family budgeting;

c) to analyze the impact of cultural change and migration on the family;

d) to coordinate with foundations, associations, federations and voluntary organizations involved in family issues;

e) to investigate the impact and the results of the family planning programs and assist in the development of a national policy;

f) to conduct joint studies with private and public institutions and to support those studies deemed appropriate to determine public opinion regarding family problems; and

g) to investigate the problems of the Turkish families working abroad.

The Institute consists of the Family Research Board and the Family Research Institute Directorate (Article 4). Provision was made for a staff of 132; as of March 1991, 75 higher level staff were in place.

International Conventions Ratified by Turkey

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

24. Turkey ratified the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) in 1985. The Convention defines "discrimination against women" as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field" (*Article 1*).

25. Turkey has made reservations to: *Article 9* - granting women equal rights with men regarding nationality; 15/2 - according women a legal capacity identical to that of men; 15/4 - according to men and women the same rights regarding movement of persons, residence and domicile; 16/1 (c) - according to men and women the same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution; 16/1 (d) - same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters

relating to their children; 16/1 (f) - same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children; 16/1 (g) - the same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation.

26. To become effective according to Turkish law, these reservations are required to be published in the Official Gazette. However, to date, they have not been published and therefore the Convention is regarded as effective without the reservations.

27. Turkey, as a party to the Convention undertakes "to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women" (*Article 2*). "Appropriate means" also include "all appropriate legislative measures". To date, no steps have been taken to comply with the Convention although the new Government has stated its intentions to revisit the reservations (Government Program, November 1991, p.53). The major contradictions can be stated as follows:

- *Article 11:* This envisages the elimination of discrimination against women in the field of employment. However, notwithstanding the neutrality of the Constitution, there remain instances within Government of discrimination. For instance, the established administrative practice of the Ministry of Justice limiting the number of women to be admitted as judges and public prosecutors (para. 4 above). Another non-compliance with the Article 11 is that the women's employment office (legal provision for which was made within the Labor Placement Office) is not yet operational, although a technical cooperation project with the ILO was agreed to make it operational.[88] There is also a need for a legal mechanism to seek redress for employment discrimination. Enactment of necessary legal mechanisms along with the establishment of legal advise bureau will help provide an effective vehicle for the women to obtain redress against employment discrimination. Women working in low-wage jobs without social security, in particular, need legal assistance and support in pursuing their rights under existing labor legislation. This has to be regarded as one of the major issues to be addressed by the Directorate General of Women's Status and Problems.

- *Article 11/2-a:* This prohibits dismissals on the grounds of pregnancy or of maternity leave. However, under the Turkish Labor Law, employers can lay-off women workers because of pregnancy or confinement.

- *Article 11/2-c:* This emphasizes the development of child-care facilities. Under the Regulation on Conditions of Work for Pregnant or Nursing Workers and Nursing Rooms and Day Nurseries, workplaces employing between 100 and 150 women workers are to establish nursing rooms while those employing more than 150 women workers have to establish day nurseries consisting of a nursing room and a creche. Employers circumvent the regulations, however, by restricting the number of female employees below the legal minimum.

- *Article 11/1-d:* This cites the principle of "equal pay for work of equal value". The Turkish Labor Law speaks of the principle of "equal pay for equal work" which has a narrower scope (Article 26).

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[88] Draft report to the Government of Turkey of the ILO technical mission "Towards a Program on Neglected Workers: Women and Child Workers", Conditions of Work and Welfare Facilities Branch, Working Conditions and Environment Department, Geneva, November 1990, p.76.

° *Article 13/a:* This addresses the right to family benefits. However in Turkey, when both spouses are employed, only the husband is entitled to the family and birth benefits.

Relevant ILO Conventions

28. To date, Turkey has ratified 29 of the approximately 172 ILO conventions (as of November 1991). Of the ILO conventions regarding working women, Turkey has ratified only Conventions No. 45 (Underground Work, 1935), 100 (Equal Remuneration, 1951), 111 (Discrimination-Employment and Occupation, 1956) and 122 (Employment Policy, 1964). Specifically:

° *Convention No. 45:* prohibits employment of women in underground work in any mine. The Turkish Labor Law prohibits underground work for women and also for men below the age of 18 (Article 68).

° *Convention No. 100:* states the principle of "equal pay for work of equal value", whereas in Turkey there is the principle of "equal pay for equal work" (para. 27 above).

° *Convention No. 111:* concerns discrimination in respect of employment and occupation. According to the fifth article, the member states undertake "to repeal any statutory provisions and modify any administrative instructions or practices which are inconsistent with the policy of equal opportunity and treatment". One of the cited obligations is that the government agencies should apply non-discriminatory employment policies in all their activities. Turkey has been criticized on several occasions by the ILO for not meeting the requirement of the Convention.[47/]

° *Convention No. 122:* the second article cites the aims of the employment policy, among which is the "freedom of choice of employment and the fullest possible opportunity for each worker to qualify for, and to use his skills and endowments in, a job for which he is well suited, irrespective of race, color, sex, religion, political opinion, national or social origin".

29. To date, Turkey has made limited progress in implementing the international labor conventions relating to women.[48/] However, the new Government's program (p.33) states that Turkish labor legislation will be harmonized with ILO conventions. A technical cooperation project developed by an ILO technical mission upon the request by the Government of Turkey is in progress which aims at enhancing the ability of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security to address the problems of both child and female labor.

European Social Charter

30. Turkey ratified the European Social Charter in 1989. The Charter lays down two basic undertakings: one, a contracting member state must "undertake to consider Part I of the Charter as a declaration which it will pursue by all appropriate means"; and two, it must consider itself bound in their

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[47/] For instance, ILO (November 1990).

[48/] For instance, Turkey has not ratified the ILO Maternity Protection Convention (Revised) 1952.

entirety by at least ten articles or forty-five paragraphs of the 19 articles of Part II and of this minimum, at least five have to be selected out of seven specified articles (Article 20). Turkey has accepted 11 articles in their entirety and 46 paragraphs have been accepted.

31. Turkey has made the following reservations to Part II of the Charter: Article 2 - the right to just conditions of work; 3 - the right to safe and healthy working conditions; 4/1 - to recognize the right of workers to a remuneration such as will given them and their families a decent standard of living; 4/2 - to recognize the right of workers to an increased rate of remuneration for overtime work, subject to exceptions in particular cases; 4/4 - to recognize the right of all workers to a reasonable period of notice for termination of employment; 5 - the right to organize; 6 - the right to bargain collectively; 7/1 - to establish a minimum age of employment of 15 years; 7/2 - to establish a higher minimum age of employment for dangerous or unhealthy occupations; 7/7 - to provide employed persons under 18 years of age with not less than three weeks' annual leave with pay; 7/10 - to ensure special protection against physical and moral dangers to which children and young persons are exposed; 8 - the right of employed women to protection; 15 - the right of physically or mentally disabled persons to vocational training, rehabilitation and social resettlement.

32. It is noteworthy that Article 8 on the right of employed women to protection has not been accepted in its entirety since for women civil servants, the maternity leave is less than that required by the Charter and because there is no job security for women workers dismissed on grounds of pregnancy or confinement.[12/]

Treatment of Women at Work Under Relevant Legislation

33. This section addresses the legislation covering employed women in the paid urban labor market. Women in agriculture are not covered since there is no agricultural labor law. This reflects the continuing pressures of the large landowners and is widely considered to be one of the major shortcomings of the Turkish labor laws. It is also useful to note here, that until June 1989 the Minimum Wage Board of the MOL set a lower minimum wage for agricultural workers. Women working in the informal urban sector (domestics, homebased workers) are also not covered by protective labor legislation.

34. It needs also to be noted that employees in the paid urban market are not covered by a single social security system and that coverage, in general, is very limited. The Republic of Turkey Retirement Fund covers civil servants and contractual personnel, the Social Security Institution covers workers and Bag-Kur covers the self-employed and housewives. To date, efforts to combine the three schemes have not been successful. The new Government has announced in its program (pp.33-34) that the social security system will be reformed and harmonized.

35. There are three main categories of paid employment: contractual personnel, civil servants and workers.

[12/] Turkey has not ratified the ILO Maternity Protection Convention (Revised), 1952, prohibiting dismissals during maternity leave but has not made a reservation to Art. 11/2-a of the Charter on prohibition of dismissals on the grounds of pregnancy or maternity leave.

Contractual Personnel

36. Contractual personnel is a relatively new category of employment covering state economic enterprises. The first two statutory decrees regulating contractual personnel (Decrees No. 233 and 308) were found unconstitutional by the Constitutional Court in December 1988 since they contradict Articles 7, 10, 91, 124 and 128 of the Constitution. The subsequent statutory decree (No. 399), which became effective on January 29, 1990 repeated most of the criticized articles and those deemed unconstitutional in previous decrees. In April 1991, the Constitutional Court annulled 21 of the 71 articles of decree. None of these decrees provided any protection to women in terms of their reproductive functions. For the time being there remains considerable uncertainty and ambiguity for contractual personnel.

37. When employment as contractual personnel was first introduced, it was praised within Government circles for providing better employment conditions and higher salaries, especially for well qualified administrative and technical personnel, thus minimizing losses of qualified personnel to the private sector. In practice, however, the decree became a means of classifying the majority of the personnel, including workers, as contractual personnel. Although personnel promoted to contractual personnel status gained higher wages, they were left without protective legislation or job security and the rights to unionize, collective bargaining, or to strike. To data, approximately 200,000 workers have been classified as contractual personnel.

Civil Servants

38. The qualifications of civil servants, procedures governing their appointments, duties and powers, their rights and responsibilities, salaries and allowances, and other matters related to their status are regulated by the Civil Servants Law (No. 657). Civil servants have no trade union freedoms[20/] but unlike contractual personnel, they enjoy job security. The Civil Servants Law makes no distinction based on gender as to employment or conditions of work.[21/] The Law does provide for the protection of the reproductive and maternal functions of women civil servants. Article 104 of the Law states that they are entitled to a maternity leave of three weeks before and six weeks after confinement. On return to work they are entitled to a nursing break of 1 1/2 hours a day for six months. Following confinement by his wife, the male civil servant is also entitled to a leave of three days. If the woman civil servant so requests, she will be entitled to an unpaid leave of six months following maternity leave (Article 108). When both of the spouses are civil servants, family allowance and birth allowance is paid to the husband (Article 203, 207). In the event that a civil servant spouse is appointed abroad, the other civil servant spouse has the right to request leave without pay up to four years.

[20/] The new Government has announced its intentions to permit unionization of civil servants.

[21/] In February 1992 the laws changed such that uniform age of retirement provisions were introduced for men and women. Until this time women were able to retire earlier than men.

Workers[22]

39. While both men and women have to be protected against inadequate, unsafe or dangerous working conditions, it is increasingly held in Turkey today by legislators that the only justified differential in treatment of workers by gender is that related to maternity protection and that this should be regulated in a way which reflects the shared responsibility of both men and women. Such a position will slowly help to change the strongly-held attitudes that the proper role of women is as mothers and homemakers. The main defects of the Turkish labor relations system needing to be abrogated or amended are briefly addressed below.

40. ***Lack of Job Security***. One of the major defects of the Turkish Labor Laws is that there is no job security for workers, excepting trade union representatives. Dismissal of workers has been legislated as an absolute right of employers, who may lay-off a worker for any reason whatsoever. The Ministry of Labor, however, has submitted to Parliament for approval legislation that would provide security; approval is anticipated in the near future.[23] The worker may be entitled to certain types of compensation, but cannot demand reinstatement in the event of an abusive or discriminative dismissal.[24] Because the burden of proof falls on the worker, employers usually claim "immoral conduct on the part of the worker" as grounds for dismissal, in order to avoid giving any type of compensation. In most cases, a laid-off worker will refrain from applying to the court not only because of the expense and time involved, but also because other workers do not want to stand witness against the employer. This lack of job security reflects closely on the effectiveness of the trade unions.

41. ***Limitations on the Resignation by the Worker***. A worker employed with a labor contract for an indefinite period has to resign either according to Article 13 (termination through a notice period) or 16 (termination with a just cause). Article 16 lists three types of just causes which are: health (work being hazardous to the worker's health and unknown at the time of employment), the immoral conduct of the employer and force majeure (workplace not functioning for a period of more than a week due to unforeseen reasons such as fire, flood or breakdown of the machines). It is only when the worker resigns according to the Article 16 that he is entitled to severance pay. For any other cause, whether just or unjust, the worker has to resign according to Article 13 and receives no severance pay. Entitlement to severance pay is extremely important because of the lack of a national scheme of unemployment insurance or assistance. The new Government plans to establish a national scheme of unemployment insurance (Program, p.34). There is only one exception to Article 13; namely, when a woman resigns within a year of her marriage and because of her marriage, she is entitled to severance pay. This exception was brought in 1983, not with the idea of protecting the woman but in an attempt to promote her resignation after the marriage so as to create vacancies for the unemployed.

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[22] The Turkish Labor Laws define a "worker" as "any person working under a labor contract in any job for wages". The term "any job" denotes that private and public sector workers, manual and intellectual workers are subject to the same labor laws.

[23] The ILO Convention governing dismissals (No. 158) has not been ratified by Turkey. The draft legislation, however, is consistent with the convention.

[24] For details see: Sûral, Nurhan, "Trade Union Freedoms within the context of Protection Against Anti-Union Discrimination", Human Rights Journal, Ankara 1991.

42. ***Prohibitions and Restrictions Concerning Trade Union Freedoms***. Of the two most cited ILO conventions on trade union freedoms (No. 87 and 98), Turkey has ratified Convention No. 98. The 1982 Constitution, the Trade Unions Law and the Collective Labor Agreements, Strikes and Lockouts Law, however, either prohibit or restrict trade union freedoms, thus contradicting the cited ILO conventions. Turkey has also placed reservations to Article 5 and 6 of the European Social Charter on the rights to organize and bargain collectively.

43. ***Determination of the Minimum Wage***. The minimum wage is determined by the Minimum Wage Board in the MOL at least once every two years. The board has representatives from the largest worker's confederation, the employers' confederation and the State; in the event there is no agreement, the State and Employers' representatives have the required majority to decide the minimum wage. The minimum wage is determined by considering the minimum essential needs of a single worker; in July 1991 the minimum gross wage for those aged sixteen and above was set at TL801,000 ($195), the net amount being around TL502,911 ($123). Turkey has made a reservation to Article 4/1 of the European Social Charter concerning minimum wages (para. 33 above).

44. ***Weekly Hours of Work***. The working week of 45 hours is high when compared with other European countries. Turkey has made a reservation to Article 2/1 of the European Social Charter envisaging a reduction in the working hours only to the extent that increases in productivity and other relevant factors permit.

45. Turkey has made a reservation to Article 3 of the European Social Charter on the right to safe and healthy working conditions. Occupational health and safety are considered to be in need of urgent improvement: in 1990, 168,000 industrial accidents occurred, 1,500 workers lost their lives and 3,000 workers became permanently disabled, while the number of workdays lost due to such accidents exceeded 2 million according to the Social Security Organization.

Female-Specific Legal Provisions

46. It should be noted that Turkey has made a reservation to Article 8 of the European Social Charter on the right of employed women to protection.

47. ***Protection of Reproductive and Maternal Functions***. The reproductive and maternal functions of women workers are protected primarily by the Labor Law and the 1987 Regulation on Conditions of Work for Pregnant or Nursing Workers and Nursing Rooms and Day Nurseries. Specifically, the worker, upon request, is entitled to a leave of absence from work as necessary for *medical examinations* during the first three months of pregnancy and once a month thereafter (Regulation, Article 4). Women are entitled to a *paid maternity leave* of six weeks before and six weeks after confinement. These periods can be increased depending on the nature of the job and the health of the worker as stated in a medical report. Upon her request, the worker will be granted an unpaid leave of 6 months after maternity leave, which is not taken into consideration in the calculation of paid annual leave (Labor Law, Article 70; Regulation, Article 3). It should be noted that an employer can lay off a woman because of her pregnancy or confinement. In this case, a notice period is added to the paid maternity leave (Labor Law, Article 17/1b). This contradicts Article 11/2a of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

48. Performance of work by women workers after confinement mentioned in the Regulation on Heavy and Dangerous Works, requires a medical report stating that there are no health obstacles to the woman worker starting work following maternity leave (Regulation, Article 5).

49. In workplaces employing more than 100 women workers, nursing workers are entitled to a *nursing break* of 45 minutes before and 45 minutes after regular breaks in order to nurse their babies in either the nursing rooms or day nurseries. This entitlement is for a period of one year. At workplaces employing less than 100 women workers, nursing workers are entitled to two nursing breaks, each of 45 minutes. One is to be used before the regular break and the other before the work is over (Regulation, Article 6). Nursing breaks are considered part of the working time (Labor Law, Article 62/1d; Regulation, Article 6/3).

50. Workplaces employing between 100-150 women workers regardless of their age or marital status, have to establish *nursing rooms* no more than 250 meters away from the workplace. Workplaces employing more than 150 women workers, regardless of their age or marital status, have to establish day nurseries consisting of a *nursing room and a creche* for the care of children between 0-6 years of age. If the day nursery is farther than 250 meters, the employer has to provide transportation. Employers may share this obligation with each other or may make arrangements with established and satisfactory nurseries (Regulation, Article 7).

Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Employment of Women in Specific Types of Work

51. *Underground and Underwater Work.* All types of underground and underwater work are prohibited for women of all ages (Labor Laws, Article 68). This article has not been challenged so far, the main reason being the general description of such work as "men's work".

52. *Night Work.* "Night" is defined as the period comprising of at most 11 consecutive hours between 10:00 p.m. and at the earliest 6:00 a.m.. There are partial exemptions from this rule; there can be different start and stop hours, depending on the nature of the work performed or differences in climate and customs. Workers can work at most 7.5 hours for the night shift (Labor Law, Article 65). Women are prohibited from night work in industry with the exception of occupations in accordance with the Regulation prepared by the Ministries of Labor, Industry and Commerce (Article 69). Specifically, women over 18 years of age may be employed for industrial work of a continuous nature that requires skillful handling and quickness but is not physically strenuous. The following activities are deemed to be "industrial" (Article 6) and women are prohibited:

- Work of all kinds in the exploration and extraction of minerals from the earth, and work in stone, sand and line quarries and the like;
- Industries in which raw materials or partly manufactured or finished goods are processed, cleaned, altered, ornamented or prepared for sale;
- All operations involved in the erection, repairing, dismantling and wrecking of plant, facilities or equipment;
- The construction, repair, alteration and demolition of building and all industrial activities connected therewith;
- The construction and repair of roads, railways, tramways, harbors, canals, piers, tunnels, bridges, sewers, wells, underwater salvage and the drainage of swamps;
- The generation, transformation, and transmission of electricity and motive power of all kinds,

and operations connected with the installations and distribution;
- The construction and operation of gas works and water works;
- Telephone, telegraph, radio and television installations;
- The building, repairing, alteration and breaking up of ships;
- The transportation of passengers, goods and animals by land, air or water;
- The loading, unloading and handling of goods at railway stations, warehouses, quays, harbors and airports; and
- Printing operations.

An employer wishing to hire women for nightwork has to apply to the Regional Labor Directorate in writing. The Directorate investigates the workplace to ensure that it complies with the conditions laid down by the Regulation and if satisfactory, issues a permit which may be revoked if working conditions change. Simultaneously, women employees are required to bring a medical report from a public health center certifying that there are no medical obstacles to night work. The employer is required by law to provide transportation for women employed in night work.

53. *Heavy and Dangerous Work.* The Regulation on Heavy and Dangerous Work lists the type of work covered and specifies which occupations may be performed by women. To perform such work every worker has to obtain a medical report stating that he is physically appropriate for and capable of its performance and these medical reports must be kept in the health files of the workers (Article 3). Women are excused from the performance of heavy and dangerous works during their menstruation periods, regarded as a period of five days, which begins with notification by the woman worker (Article 4).

Conclusions

54. While Turkey remains the only Islamic country to have eliminated the Sharia, and notwithstanding the gender-neutral character of the 1982 Constitution and the 1926 Civil Code adopted from Switzerland, there are a number of areas in which the legal framework constrains women's full participation. Specifically, there are two articles in the Constitution: Article 41 on the Protection of the Family mandates that the State shall take the necessary measures and establish the necessary organization to ensure the peace and welfare of the family and the protection of the mother and children; and Article 50 on Working Conditions and the Right to Rest and Leisure states "minors and women" shall enjoy special protection regarding working conditions. While seemingly paternalistic, these articles are less than benign in practice. Although discrimination is proscribed, the difficulties in practice of obtaining legal redress, underpin the need for a legal mechanism to provide redress for employment discrimination and also for the need to provide legal assistance to applicants. This is regarded as one of the major issues for the DGWSP to address.

55. The civil code also does not provide for the full equality of women. Articles 151-158 on the family define the husband as the head of household, who determines domicile and whose views prevail on family matters in case of dispute. Consideration should be given to an early review by the Ministry of Justice and presentation to the Assembly of the proposals regarding these articles prepared by the 1984 commission on reform of the Civil Code. The annulment in 1990 of Article 159 which required that a woman obtain her husband's permission to work, represents a major step forward for Turkish women. The laws on Education, Property, Banking and Credit Regulation do not appear to pose issues in terms of differential treatment of women. The Laws of Succession (in particular, relating to agricultural land)

and Nationality do however treat women differently and the former especially, may constrain women's participation given that women constitute 50% of the agricultural labor force. Enforcement of existing laws, however, needs further consideration. For instance, the number of childcare centers in enterprises (Chapter III) and the low proportion of civil marriages registered in rural areas are indicative of the need for enforcement.

56. The major concern within the legal framework, however, is the labor legislation. While many of the labor issues relate to both men and women, (for instance, job security) many regulations introduced for the protection of women contribute to constraining women to traditional, and generally low-paying occupations. To date, Turkey has ratified 29 of the approximately 172 ILO conventions and, in particular, has made limited progress in implementing conventions relating to women. Similarly, Turkey has ratified the European Social Charter. Progress in compliance with the Charter, and the Charter's Action Program that is close to being finalized with far-reaching labor recommendations, is necessary. Progress in labor legislation under both the ILO conventions and the Charter will be important for Turkey's acceptance to the EC. Existing protective legislation needs to be re-evaluated. Also, women would benefit from the extension of legislation concerning working conditions to all workers, particularly homebased workers, and those in the informal and agricultural sectors, and to the introduction of legislation for part-time and flexitime employment. In all of these areas, the DGWSP has an important role to play.

ANNEX 2

FERTILITY, NUTRITION AND HEALTH ISSUES OF WOMEN

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FERTILITY, NUTRITION AND HEALTH ISSUES OF WOMEN

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ANNEX 2

FERTILITY, NUTRITION AND HEALTH ISSUES OF WOMEN

Population Trends, 1950 - 2000

1. Since the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, two diverging population policies have been followed: the pro-natalist policy encouraging high birth rates, which remained valid until 1965, and the anti-natalist policy reflected in the Population Planning Law, pursued since 1965.

TABLE 1: Total Population by Census Years and Growth Rate of Population by Rural Areas, 1950-1990

Year	Population (millions)	Urban Pop. as % of Total	Rate of Annual Increase		
			Total	Urban	Rural
1950	20.9	25.04	2.17	2.25	2.15
1955	24.1	28.79	2.78	5.57	1.75
1960	27.8	31.92	2.85	4.92	1.95
1965	31.4	34.42	2.46	3.97	1.71
1970	35.6	38.45	2.52	4.73	1.25
1975	40.3	41.81	2.50	4.18	1.38
1980	44.7	43.91	2.07	3.05	1.33
1985	50.7	51.03	2.49	6.26	-1.06
1990	57.0	59.10	2.35	3.59	0.68

Source: Government of Turkey (GT).

2. Notwithstanding the pro-natalist policies, population growth remained low until 1940. During the Second World War, with a great number of men mobilized, population growth declined sharply and then accelerated in the 1950s. Simultaneously, there was a rapid acceleration in migration from rural to urban areas. Since 1975, the population growth rate has stabilized around 2.4% (GT); if the population growth rate remains at this rate, Turkey's population will be 71.3 million in the year 2000.

Trends in Sex Ratio

3. Table 2 below indicates age specific sex ratios by year:

TABLE 2: Age Group Specific Sex Ratio, 1970, 1985, 1990

	1970	1985	1990
0-4	102.6	104.4	103.5
5-9	105.1	105.3	105.2
10-14	109.1	107.6	105.2
15-19	108.7	103.1	107.4
20-24	110.4	103.6	102.6
25-29	96.0	103.6	103.1
30-34	87.4	104.4	103.2
35-39	101.8	103.0	104.0
40-44	102.4	98.9	102.4
45-49	114.3	97.5	98.1
50-54	88.5	103.6	95.9
55-59	112.8	100.0	100.7
60-64	89.9	96.8	96.0
65-69	100.7	84.3	91.8
70-74	83.2	89.2	79.1
75-79	74.9	80.4	75.8
80-84	53.0	71.6	-
85 +	48.4	59.5	-
TOTAL	102.3	102.7	102.4

Source: GT.

A comparison of the sex ratios (males to females) for 1970-1990 shows an excess of men over women below age 30. The excess diminishes over time and is attributed, in part, to an improvement in age declaration brought about by better education. Urban/rural ratios, however, show a greater excess of males in urban areas (in 1970, ratios were 133 for ages 15-19 and 157 for ages 20-24), reflecting the primarily male urban migration which accelerated in the 1960s.

Age Distribution of Female Population

4. Table 3 shows the percentage distribution of household members by 5-year age groups and sex. The low ratio at ages 15-24 may be explained by the absence of such males for educational purposes or military service, since institutional populations were not included in the household members list in the Hacettepe University Institute of Population Survey (HIPS, 1989). As expected, the ratio is low after age 50.

TABLE 3: The Percentage Distribution of Household Members by 5-Year Age Groups and Sex

	Males	Females	Sex Ratio
0-4	11.0	10.5	104
5-9	12.0	12.1	99
10-14	11.7	11.2	104
15-19	10.4	11.0	94
20-24	9.3	9.8	95
25-29	8.2	7.9	104
30-34	7.3	7.1	103
35-39	6.0	5.7	105
40-44	5.0	4.6	109
45-49	3.9	3.9	102
50-54	3.7	4.3	86
55-59	3.9	3.9	102
60-64	2.9	3.1	93
65 +	4.3	4.6	93
Unknown	0.3	0.2	123
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	
Sample Size	15787	15814	100

Source: Hacettepe University Institute of Population Surveys (HIPS), 1989.

Life Expectancy

5. Table 4 summarizes available data on life expectancy at birth and at age 5 but, since data on life expectancy at birth are limited, the report focuses on life expectancy at age 5 (Table 5). Between 1935-50, life expectancy at age 5 increased by 6-years for males and 10 years for females and between 1950-90 an improvement of about 6 years for males and 9 years for females can be observed (GT).

TABLE 4: Life Expectancy at Birth and at Age 5, 1985-1990 and 1990-1995

Years	Life expectancy at birth		Life expectancy at 5	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1985-1990	63.2	68.1	64.1	68.4
1990-1995	65.1	70.3	64.7	69.3

Source: Kocaman, 1989.

6. The following table gives the data on life expectancy at age 5 between 1950-1990.

TABLE 5: Life Expectancy At Age 5, 1950-1990

Periods	Life expectancy	
	Male	Female
1950-55	57.8	59.1
1955-60	60.4	61.9
1960-65	60.9	63.8
1965-70	61.6	64.4
1970-75	62.3	65.6
1975-80	62.9	66.5
1980-85	63.4	67.3
1985-90	64.1	68.4

Source: SPO, Social Indicators, 1990

Mortality Ratio

Child/Woman Ratio

7. The child/woman ratio is the number of live children under age 5 per woman aged 15-49. Though it has some limitations, it may be used as an indicator of gross differences in fertility (Campbell, 1983). The child/woman ratio in both rural and urban areas has steadily declined since 1960 as well as the rural-urban differential (Table 6).

TABLE 6: Child/Woman Ratios by Urban/Rural Areas (1950-85)

	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
Urban	.444	.512	.533	.520	.520	.532	.488	.440
Rural	.657	.746	.760	.744	.737	.695	.643	.568
Total	.609	.694	.700	.676	.657	.625	.567	.500
Difference	.213	.234	.227	.224	.217	.163	.155	.128

Source: Adopted from the estimates of Cerit, 1989.

8. Although gender-specific differences in child mortality rates could be estimated from the life expectancy of females as a percentage of males, the data, particularly for children in age group 1-4, is not published by gender, so, it is not possible to interpret mortality rates according to sex differences.[23] However, many studies underline the preference for sons (Table 12 below; HIPS, 1989; Öztürk, 1974/1990; Sümbüloglu, 1976/1990; Ermumcu, 1984/1990) and show the proportion preferring a girl decreases with an increasing number of living children. The studies also show that in families without male children the level of contraceptive use is very low. Analysis of the number of dead children and sociocultural variables, without taking into consideration the number and sex of living children, also indicates the number of dead children as the most important determinant of fertility behavior (HIPS, 1989). When sociocultural factors and the sex of dead children were taken into account, the number of dead male children emerges as an important determinant. Another indicator worth mentioning is the expression of some health center physicians: "For male children they usually ask us: "Tell me doctor, is there any need to take this boy to a private physician?" (Aksit, 1989, Sivas).[24] These findings imply that sex preferences of families are obvious and affect the morbidity and mortality.

9. Infant mortality distribution by sex shows that 142 male infants die for every 100 female infants. This ratio rises in the neonatal period where 166 male infants die for every 100 female infants and falls in the postneonatal period, where 126 male infants die for every 100 female infants (Tuncbilek, 1988). The greater occurrence of male deaths over females deaths may be due to several factors. The fact that male infants may be susceptible to a greater number of sex-linked diseases than female infants and that male infants may be relatively weak in resisting disease could both contribute to this gender differential in infant deaths. Also, cultural factors such as under reporting of female infants death may also affect these figures. Thus, sex preference is noticeable, but detailed data representing the country's status of child morbidity and mortality by sex is not sufficient to support unequivocally this view (Aksit and Aksit, 1989a).

Maternal Mortality Rate and Its Determinants

10. Maternal mortality is the annual number of deaths of women from pregnancy-related causes during pregnancy or within 42 days of termination of pregnancy (UNICEF, 1991). Official statistics are not sufficient for Turkey's maternal mortality rate to be properly assessed. According to Yener's findings for 1974-75, the maternal mortality rate was 208 per 100 thousand (1981). A survey carried out in 1989 by the State Institute of Statistics, through the sisterhood method showed a maternal mortality rate of 134 per 100 thousand births for 1981 (GT).

11. The majority of maternal deaths in Turkey occur during childbirth. Surveys undertaken by the State Institute of Statistics (SIS) also confirm this finding, pointing out that half of all maternal deaths take place during delivery, one fourth during pregnancy and one fourth during the puerperium, (i.e. after birth). The major medical causes of those deaths are haemorrhagia, infections and toxaemia. Maternal mortality rates calculated on the basis of hospital births cannot reflect the country's situation as the system only provides assistance to about half of the yearly pregnancies (GT and UNICEF, 1991).

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[23] The UN Report "World's Women: Trends and Statistics, 1970-1990", (1991, p.60) cites mortality rates of girls aged 2-5 years as 19.5 per 1000 population and 18.4 for boys.

[24] Bulut and colleagues (1990), however could find little sex differentiation among child deaths by age in Istanbul. Although this can be explained by lack of registration of female births in rural areas, it is confusing for Istanbul.

Table 7 shows the distribution of maternal deaths related to medical causes for the period 1982-86, based on hospital records (GT):

TABLE 7: Causes of Maternal Deaths Based on Hospital Records, 1982-1986

Cause of death	Hospitalized	Deaths	Death rate (per 100.000)
Toxaemia related to pregnancy and confinement	15,467	258	1.665
Infections during pregnancy and confinement	3,950	21	531
Puerperal fever	3,561	13	365
Other complications related to pregnancy and puerperium	100,460	157	156
Haemorrhagia related to pregnancy and delivery	38,554	47	121
Abortions	79,124	77	97
Births without complications	549,996	53	9

Source: GT.

12. High fertility including early marriage age and frequency of pregnancies, inappropriate nutrition, under-utilization of existing health care services and traditional practices, which are all partially determined by the socio-cultural and economic status of a country, exacerbate the medical causes of maternal deaths.

13. In Turkey, only 10% of women over 45 are single, including widows, divorced and separated women. Although the average age at first marriage rose to 18.2 in 1988 from 17.6 in 1983, it is still low, particularly in Eastern Anatolia (16.3 in 1983, 17.3 in 1988) (HIPS, 1989). Early marriages lead to early pregnancy, birth and puerperium, which all have the potential to affect maternal health. Short birth intervals also affect the child's health status. For instance, the infant mortality rate (IMR) is 125 per thousand for those spacing births closer than 24 months (Tunçbilek, 1988) compared to a national IMR of 61. Excessive fertility gives rise to an increase in the number of undesired pregnancies and, in turn, leads to abortion which is harmful to women's health. The following table shows the incidence of abortions, according to respondents:

TABLE 8: Distribution of Abortions (Per 1000 Pregnancies), 1984-1987

Type	1984	1985	1986	1987
Induced	15.1	16.8	20.2	23.6
Spontaneous	7.6	8.7	8.1	8.2
Total	22.7	25.5	28.3	31.8

Source: HIPS, 1989.

14. If one of the risk factors for pregnancy, delivery and puerperium is also accompanied by malnutrition (or unbalanced nutrition), a threatening situation may emerge for mother and child. Failure to meet pregnancy-related nutritional needs or to compensate for the nutritional loss emerging from previous pregnancies particularly with short intervals, also increases the risk of maternal mortality.

15. According to a recent national study (Köksal, 1977), 28% of girls above age 5 and women had low haemoglobin levels and 74% of pregnant women. Almost 95% of pregnant women claimed that they do not change their diet during pregnancy. The following table shows the average haemoglobin levels in pregnant and lactating women by region:

Below average (less than 11.0 gr/100 ml) haemoglobin levels are particularly high in the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the Eastern part of Anatolia. Though Köksal did not address the causes of anemia, the prevalence of thalassaemia in Turkey may be thought as a facilitating factor.

16. Utilization of health services as a contributor to maternal mortality can be discussed in terms of prenatal care and delivery:

Prenatal Care

17. Within the framework of the existing system in Turkey, prenatal services are provided by health centers, health houses, maternal/child health and family planning centers, hospitals and private physicians. At health facilities under the administration of the Ministry of Health (MOH), pregnant women are supposed to be followed-up at least six times by midwives. During routine follow-up pregnant women are given a physical check-up, blood pressure, height and weight are measured, tetanus toxoid given and the necessary training (GT and UNICEF, 1991). However only 43% of all pregnant women in the country receive prenatal care, (56% in urban and 27% in rural areas). The variation between regions, particularly between West and East, is striking (West 62% and East 22%; HIPS, 1989). These data are reasonable since health services are not evenly distributed all over the country. However, the delivery of prenatal care varies with the increase of educational level of the women (21% of illiterate, 32% of literate, 45% of primary school, 70% of secondary school, 81% of high school, 86% of university graduates; HIPS, 1989). The first prenatal care occurs on average at the beginning of the seventh month, so many women receive prenatal care only once, during the last trimester of pregnancy.

TABLE 9: Average Haemoglobin Levels in Pregnant and Lactating Women by Region, 1974

Region	Haemoglobin level g/100 ml/blood 7.9 & less	8.0-9.9	10.0-10.9	Total
		(%)		
Aegean-Karmara				
Pregnant	7.1	29.8	29.8	66.7
Lactating	4.6	24.8	30.3	59.7
Black Sea				
Pregnant	40.5	47.6	7.1	95.2
Lactating	15.3	59.7	12.5	87.5
Central Anatolia				
Pregnant	10.5	35.8	20.9	67.2
Lactating	9.1	27.3	18.2	54.6
Mediterranean				
Pregnant	22.6	32.2	21.0	75.8
Lactating	14.5	34.8	30.4	79.7
Eastern Anatolia				
Pregnant	11.9	35.8	26.9	74.6
Lactating	3.9	24.3	26.2	54.4
Turkey				
Pregnant	16.1	35.1	22.7	73.9
Lactating	8.6	32.6	24.2	65.9

Source: Koksal, 1977.

Delivery and Post Natal Care

18. A significant number of births still take place under unsuitable and unhealthy conditions outside of a health unit (39%; HIPS, 1989). In the rural areas more than half of deliveries take place outside a health unit (53%) and in the East only one-third of births are delivered at a health unit (37%). According to the findings of HIPS (1989), rural dwellers are more likely to be assisted by traditional midwives and people other than health personnel (35%), in comparison to their urban counterparts (14%). There are virtually no data on post-natal care.

19. These trends suggest (i) that while existing Ministry of Health programs for safe motherhood are satisfactory, there is a need to strengthen the utilization of these programs; (ii) a need to increase research on prenatal, natal and postnatal care, in terms of delivery and provision of health services, and particularly with a view to increasing the incidence of modern and healthy mother and child care (Aksit T. and Özcebe 1992; Dilsiz, 1978/1990); and (iii) a need for actual and precise data to analyze maternal mortality rates and causes.

TABLE 10: Total Fertility Rate by Region and Settlement Type, 1983 and 1988

Region, settlement type	1983	1988
West	2.68	3.52
South	4.59	4.47
Center	4.01	4.14
North	3.88	3.55
East	6.52	4.99
Urban	3.17	3.79
Rural	5.08	4.37
Turkey	4.05	4.04

Source: HIPS, 1989.

Fertility

20. Turkey has experienced a significant decline in fertility since 1960. The Total Fertility Rate (TFR) defined as the total number of children born to women who reach 49 years of age was 6.8 in 1960 and 3.7 in 1989 (Population Reference Bureau, 1989). In the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan, the target is for a total fertility rate of 3.46 for 1990-1995. However Table 10, which summarizes available regional and urban/rural fertility rates, shows a need to carefully analyze regional variation. There are no reliable data for fertility rates by region and socio-economic status in the HIPS 1988 survey which would permit a correlation of fertility rates with socio-economic status.

21. The following two tables give an indication of the ideal number of children of ever-married women classified by region, urban/rural residence, education and whether the actual family size equals the desired number.

TABLE 11: The Percentage Distribution of Ever-Married Women According to the Number of Children Desired by Some Background Variables

	Ideal number of children						
	0	1	2	3	4	5 +	Total
Turkey	9.0	4.9	59.8	17.4	7.3	1.6	100.0
West	6.7	6.4	67.7	14.9	3.7	0.7	100.0
South	13.8	2.7	40.8	19.5	19.0	4.2	100.0
Central	8.8	4.6	64.2	17.6	4.0	0.9	100.0
North	8.2	6.8	64.6	16.1	3.5	0.9	100.0
East	11.0	2.8	48.6	22.0	12.7	2.9	100.0
Urban	8.3	5.4	62.2	17.1	5.8	1.2	100.0
Rural	10.0	4.3	56.6	17.9	9.2	2.0	100.0
Illiterate	9.6	4.0	43.8	22.8	15.4	4.3	100.0
Literate	7.0	4.2	56.1	23.3	7.9	1.5	100.0
Primary	9.0	4.3	66.7	15.5	4.1	0.4	100.0
Secondary	9.1	6.1	70.1	10.8	3.9	-	100.0
High	10.5	9.0	70.3	8.1	1.3	0.7	100.0
University	5.0	18.8	65.8	8.8	2.5	-	100.0

Source: HIPS, 1989.

The HIPS data show that 60% of all ever-married women stated that they desired two children, almost 20% desired three children, and that 9% of women prefer not to have any children. Compared to urban areas, women living in rural areas have similar ideas, but in terms of regions, women in the Southern and the Eastern regions desire two children. The survey shows little difference in the preference of women in urban - rural areas, but the regional data show that a higher proportion of women in the Southern and Eastern regions desire both no children and more than two children. The survey also clearly reveals a decline in desired family size with rising levels of education. Education, therefore, is a very strong factor in determining excess fertility (HIPS, 1989).

22. Table 12 shows the proportion of exposed women who desired more children and their sex preferences by the number of living children and living sons.

TABLE 12: The Percentage Distribution of Pregnant or Exposed Women Who Desired More Children According to Sex Preference by Number of Living Children and Living Sons

Number of living children	Number of living sons	Percentage who want a son	Percentage who want a daughter	Either	Total
0	0	28.6	17.2	54.2	100.0
1	0	71.0	3.2	25.8	100.0
	1	5.3	73.7	21.0	100.0
2	0	89.2	-	10.8	100.0
	1	36.5	6.8	56.8	100.0
	2	5.5	87.3	7.3	100.0
3 +	0	100.0	-	-	100.0
	1	75.0	-	25.0	100.0
	2	20.7	27.6	51.7	100.0
	3 +	15.2	45.5	39.4	100.0

Source: HIPS, 1989.

23. The mean desired family size, or the ideal number of children, which was 3.03 and 2.7 in the 1978 and 1983 surveys respectively, was found to be 2.14 in 1988. Thus, within ten years, the mean number of desired children decreased by one child. The mean number of children desired was found to increase as the number of living children and age of the women increases and decreases as the educational status of the woman or her husband increases (HIPS, 1989). The 1988 survey did not reveal significant differences in the mean number of children desired among regions and places of residence. Excess fertility is said to exist when the number of living children is greater than the desired number. In the 1988 HIPS Survey, 44% of all ever-married women have more children than their ideal or desired number.

24. Traditionally, the value of children in Turkey is closely related to economic utility and their sex. To a large extent, this remains the case in many parts of Turkey. As has been discussed in the section above on Mortality Rates, many studies underline the sex preference for sons. According to research on the value of children, conducted by Kagıtçıbası (1981), parents want male children mostly for economic help and continuation of the family name. In some areas, women continue giving birth until they reach their desired number of male children and parents may not count daughters as children on the grounds that they will go to the marital family, and all their contributions with them. However, it seems that this pattern has been changing in recent years in favor of psychological satisfaction of younger parents (Kagıtçıbası, 1981; Aksit, T. 1990).

25. It is also necessary to mention here that children, and particularly male children, prove a woman's worth. In areas where polygamous marriages remain,[7] and particularly Eastern Anatolia (3%, HIPS, 1989) a woman prefers to give birth to a child every other year, so that her husband will not "take" a new "woman". In her opinion, she makes her "place" (status) in the family stronger (Aksit, and Özcebe, 1991).

[7] SPO data for 1990 shows 103 married women for every 100 married men.

26. As noted above, young age at marriage is one of the major issues relating to high fertility in Turkey (Bulut, 1986). According to the 1988 HIPS data, the age of first marriage is 17.2 years in rural, and 18.2 in urban areas. Mean differences in husbands' and wives' ages at first marriage is 6 years for women under the age of 20. In rural areas there remains a sharp transition from childhood to motherhood, whereas this transition is being prolonged in urban areas by increased school enrollment of girls. Consanguineous marriages (21% Turkey, 31% Eastern, 13% in Western Anatolia; HIPS, 1989) are also more popular in adolescent couples, especially in rural Turkey. These also contribute to rural health issues. The incidence of teenage motherhood and consanguineous marriages underline the need for more information on adolescents as they face very different sets of health and fertility issues.

Family Planning Programs and Contraceptive Use

27. The First World War and the War of Independence (1919-23) caused massive population losses in Turkey. The scarcity of manpower in agriculture and defence forced governments to take measures to increase fertility. Consequently, they favored a dynamic generation policy and aimed at the improvement of national health, reduction of death rates, control of infectious diseases and an increasing population growth rate (GT and UNICEF, 1991). In 1931, along with pro-natalist policies, preventive health measures, covering mothers and children, were also introduced. During this period, the Ministry of Health was entrusted with developing means to encourage high fertility and give awards to women with six or more children. Imports or sales of birth control devices were prohibited. The Turkish Penal Law defined abortion as an offence and subsequently (1936), the penalty for this offence was increased.

28. After establishment of the State Planning Organization in 1960, existing population policies started to be questioned and a policy advocating low population growth was introduced in the First Five-Year Plan. In 1965, a Population Planning Law was passed and tax exemptions were introduced for the import of birth control devices. The Second Five-Year Development Plan went further and introduced family planning programs. Provincial family planning directorates were given the task of establishing mobile groups to cover rural populations. The Third Development Plan, proposed the integration of family planning and maternal and child care services. The Population Planning Code, put into effect in 1965, was revised in 1983, to meet current needs. The Code reformulates the principles of family planning, induced abortion and sterilization, emergency intervention and production and provision of contraceptives. The Code also requires the State to facilitate family planning education and implementation.

29. Even though the Law had not been changed, the percentage of users in 1963 was 22.0. Following the First Family Planning Law 1965, contraceptive use has grown dramatically - reaching 77% of exposed women by 1988. However, as seen in Table 13, not only the use of modern methods, but also traditional methods continue to increase and remain higher than for modern methods - 39% against 38%. While this may provide an indication that the proportion of exposed women using modern contraceptives will increase in future and even though the overall level of contraceptive use is high, the proportion of exposed women using modern methods suggests a margin for improvement. In fact, when the use of specific methods is examined in 1988, it is observed that withdrawal remains the most widely used method (31%) among exposed women. IUD use (17% of exposed women) appears to be the second most widely practiced method (a two-fold increase was observed in the use of IUD between 1983 and 1988), followed by condom and pill (8.9% and 7.6% respectively) (HIPS, 1989).

TABLE 13: Trend of Currently Used Contraceptive Methods by Exposed Women: A Comparison of Three National Fertility Surveys (Percentage Distribution)

	1978	1983	1988
Modern Methods:			
Pill	8.0	9.0	7.6
IUD	4.0	8.9	17.1
Condom	4.0	4.9	8.9
Female scientific*	2.0	2.9	2.2
Female sterilization	-	1.3	2.1
Male sterilization	-	-	0.1
Injection	-	0.2	0.0
Total	18.0	27.2	38.0
Traditional Methods:			
Withdrawal	22.0	30.1	31.1
Rhythm	-	1.4	4.3
Douche	6.0	1.9	2.9
Abstinence	-	-	0.1
Other	4.0	0.8	0.6
Total	32.0	34.2	39.0

*Female scientific: such as foam, creams, jelly.
Source: HIPS, 1989.

Nutrition

30. Two major studies on nutrition have been undertaken in Turkey "Nutrition, Health and Food Consumption", prepared jointly by the Ministries of Health, Education and Agriculture, State Planning Organization, State Institute of Statistics, Hacettepe University, UNICEF, FAO and the CARE Organization in 1974 (Köksal, 1977) and "Food Consumption and Nutrition", carried out in three cities (Adana, Ankara and Izmir) jointly by the Ministry of Agriculture, UNICEF, Hacettepe University and the State Institute of Statistics in 1984 (Tönük et al., 1987). Although there are many small scale studies, they do not present caloric intake by sex and age, which would permit an analysis as to whether there is any preferential intra-household food allocation in Turkey.

31. According to the findings of Tonuk (1987), the incidence of malnutrition of children is the same in both rural and urban areas (about 12%). Since the heights and weights of preschool children are not gender specific, the measurements obtained were evaluated without differentiating the sexes: 18% of preschool children are underweight and 2% were marasmic. Some 23% of the preschool children in the villages and towns were found to suffer from retardation, compared to 11% of the preschool children living in the metropolitan areas (Koksal, 1977).

32. Among nutritional deficiency states currently afflicting women, anaemia is the most widespread. Its clinical manifestation is not spectacular and for this reason the disease is often ignored. Recent studies have indicated that in iron deficiency, apart from anaemia there is impairment of physical stamina, learning ability and immunocompetence (Gopalan, 1990). Severe anaemia itself also adds to obstetric problems and maternal mortality.

33. As depicted above (Maternal Mortality), according to the Köksal study (1977), among girls and women above age 5, the percentage with very low (less than 7.9 g) or low (8-9.9 g) haemoglobin levels was 28.3. More recent studies suggest that anaemia prevalence is around 40% in different areas (Köksal and Kayakırılmaz, 1987; Işık et al. 1990; Hamzacebi et al. 1990). Some researchers point out that most pregnant women in Turkey do not change their nutritional habits during pregnancy (Köksal and Kayakırılmaz, 1985; Elmacioglu and Egemen 1989).

TABLE 14: Prevalence of Anemia in Adult Women

Name of researcher	Research Place	Year	n	Prevalence (%)
Mızıkacı	Çubuk	1986	150	50.0
Kılıçbay	Erzurum	1987	747	37.0
Aykut, et al.	Kayseri	1988	100	60.0

Source: Yücecan (1989).

The causes of anaemia in pregnancy include, inter alia, short birth interval, excess fertility, chronic disease, recurring fever, bleeding, intestinal infestation and pica, in addition to malnutrition and unbalanced nutrition. The most frequently seen anaemia type is iron deficiency (Yücecan, 1989).

34. The second major nutritional problem is goitre, which is endemic in Turkey. The national incidence of goitre was 14% in pregnant women, 15% in lactating mothers, 9% in women and 3% in men. Goitre prevalence in pregnant and lactating women was higher in the Black Sea, East and Aegean and Marmara regions (Köksal, 1977). Urgancioglu and Hatemi (1988), using WHO criteria for goitre, found that the prevalence of second degree goitre averaged 8-10% in women and 2-5% in men. The following table shows the ranking of the regions of Turkey using the Cerrahpasa Endemic Goitre Index:

TABLE 15: Goitre Index and the Arithmetic Mean of Second Degree Goitre Prevalence by Sex and Region (Sample Size, 73,757)

Region	Arithmetic Mean Women	Men	Women/Men
Black Sea	13.73	6.15	2.23
East	11.41	6.99	1.63
Aegean	7.09	2.61	2.71
Marmara	9.59	5.88	1.63
Central	7.69	4.25	1.81
Mediterranean	7.58	1.88	4.03
South East	6.50	0.75	8.67
Average	9.08	4.07	3.20

Source: Adopted from Urgancioglu and Hatemi, 1988.

35. Obesity is an important nutritional problem in Turkey, especially among adult women. Table 16 shows adults' weights according to standard weights:

TABLE 16: Evaluation of Adults' Weights According to Standard Weights by Sex

Year	Mildly obese (%) Women	Men	Obese (%) Women	Men
1974	38.5	26.4	25.6	7.6
1984	33.3	25.8	31.9	12.9

Source: Köksal, 1977 and Tönük et al, 1987.

A more recent study by Saglam (1989), shows that 51% of women were obese and 34% were mildly obese. The causes of obesity warrant further research in Turkey and, in particular, to address variations by regions, socio-cultural and economic status, age and gender and food consumption habits.

36. Available studies on vitamin and mineral deficiencies in pregnant and lactating women, which are summarized in Table 17 below, although of limited coverage, indicate significant deficiencies. Table 18, which shows the incidence of clinical symptoms resulting from nutrition patterns, indicates a much higher prevalence of vitamin and mineral deficiency in women than men, and in pregnant and lactating women, in particular.

TABLE 17: The Percentage Distribution of Insufficient and Border Line Consumption of Vitamins and Minerals in Pregnant and Lactating Women

Researchers		Insufficient	Borderline
Saglam	Pregnant		
Sample size=100,	Calcium	98.1	1.4
1981	Iron	99.0	1.0
	Riboflavin	85.7	5.1
	Niacin	74.9	14.7
	Vitamin A	69.4	5.3
	Vitamin C	12.7	16.0
Atilla	Pregnant		
Sample size=100,	Vitamin C	2.0	
1984			
Aksoy	Lactating		
Sample size=54,	Iron	80.1	10.2
1982	Riboflavin	52.8	19.6
	Niacin	21.3	24.4
	Vitamin A	73.1	5.0
	Vitamin C	33.1	11.5

Source: Yucecan, 1989.

TABLE 18: The Percentage Distribution of Clinical Signs Among Females and Males Over 5 Years of Age

	Female	Male	Pregnant	Lactating
Conjunctival paleness	4.0	1.7	7.5	5.1
Angular lesion	3.1	3.5	0.9	2.2
Cheilosis	0.4	0.4	0.9	0.8
Pyorrhoea	1.2	1.2	0.5	1.0
Oedema in legs	2.0	0.6	4.9	0.8
Dental caries	10.4	8.7	8.0	8.0
Decay	11.0	10.1	10.1	13.1
Gingival bleeding	0.9	0.5	0.7	0.5
Gingiva in scorbutus	0.8	0.5	0.9	0.6

Source: Köksal (1977).

37. Data on breast-feeding indicate that this is almost universal in Turkey. Over the past decade, the incidence of breast-feeding has remained around 95%. The data also indicate that the practice does not vary widely by region, urban/rural residence, respondent's age and level of education (HIPS, 1989). Between the 1983 and 1988 Surveys there was, however, a slight decline in duration of breastfeeding from 12.5 months in 1983 to 10.3 months in 1988. The surveys also show a significantly longer duration in rural areas, the Eastern Regions and with age. Duration of breast-feeding, however, declines markedly with education -but nonetheless remains around six months for university graduates. While breast-feeding is a positive aspect of nutrition in Turkey, it is widely maintained that parents are not well-informed as to the appropriate time to introduce supplementary foods, nor as to what constitutes an appropriate diet for infants (Tonuk et al, 1987).

TABLE 19: Mean Duration of Breast-Feeding and the Percentage Distribution of Women According to Breast-Feeding the Last Child Born in the Last Five Years by Selected Background Variables

	Women breast-feeding	Mean duration
Turkey	95.0	10.3
Urban	94.4	9.6
Rural	95.6	11.1
Region		
West	94.8	9.5
South	94.5	11.0
Central	95.4	10.9
North	97.2	8.0
East	94.0	12.7
Age		
15-19	94.9	4.0
20-24	94.4	8.3
25-29	95.7	9.8
30-34	95.0	11.5
35-39	94.6	11.6
40-44	96.2	17.2
45-49	88.9	16.7
Education		
Illiterate	94.5	13.0
Literate	93.2	12.8
Primary	95.4	10.0
Secondary	97.4	7.1
High School	94.1	6.6
University	95.3	5.7

Source: HIPS, 1989.

Adult Health Problems

38. As in many other developing countries, there is insufficient knowledge as to the prevalence of diseases in Turkey and very little information as to their gender prevalence. In general, substance abuse appears to affect men more than women, but the evidence is limited. For instance, available studies on smoking show that 24% of women carry a pack of cigarettes in their pockets, while 63% of men do. Similarly, 90% of women smoke a pack or less in a day, whereas 31% of men smoke more than a pack (PIAR, 1988). Data on drug and alcohol addiction by gender is also limited. Beyazyurek et al, (1989) in their study of college graduate in-patients treated at a substance abuse hospital, found that there is a statistically significant difference between males (94%) and females (7%). Ünal (1979) in his study of Ankara, found a statistically significant, higher incidence of psychosomatic disease and psychoneurosis in women and of personality disorders and alcohol/drug addiction among men. Studies also indicate that gender is an important factor in the incidence of simple depression and anxiety symptoms (Saher, 1981).

39. The incidence of dental problems also shows a gender differential - 41% of women and 34% of men (Köksal, 1977). Older women with increasing numbers of pregnancies were more likely to have dental caries and pyorrhoea. Studies (Egemen, 1972/1990; Güven 1972/1990; Yazlcloglu, 1976) also indicate that visits to the dentist by men are significantly higher than by women.

40. Similarly, Bilir's study (1986) of the incidence of cancer in Turkey also reveals significant gender difference. The most commonly diagnosed cancers in males are those of the larynx and lung, lymphomas and stomach cancer; those in females are of the breast and cervix, lymphomas and stomach cancer. This data is supported by oncology hospital records (MOHSA, 1988).

41. Balkan's (1983) study shows also a distinct gender distribution of accidents: 13% women and 18% of men. The cause of accidents also varies between the sexes: liquid burns, 70% women (particularly in the housewife age group) and 30% men; fire accidents, 70% women and 30% men. On the other hand, agricultural and traffic accidents are more common in men.

42. Researchers maintain that there is little information, in particular about gynecological diseases (for instance, Aksit, and Ozcebe, 1991). Available studies on pathologies indicate that according to physical examination results, the average number of women with pathologies increased from 66% to 95% between 1970 and 1990. The most frequently encountered conditions at pelvic examination were pelvic relaxation, infectious disease, varicose veins, and erosion. The most frequently seen pelvic relaxation were cystocele and cystorectocele, which were found to increase with age, number of pregnancies and early involvement in heavy work just after delivery. The prevalence of pelvic inflammatory disease was between 5-11%. The most frequent infectious disease was cervicitis.[IV] The results of very limited studies on infertility show that primary sterility is 1% and secondary sterility 4% (Akln, 1970/1990). There are high levels of morbidity due to gynecological conditions, which result, in part, from women having insufficient knowledge about gynecological diseases and their symptoms. The gynecological health of women could be improved with more trained health personnel, better provision of information and more widespread and continuous health services based on both epidemiological and social research.

43. While there are many gaps in the knowledge of the health of Turkish adults, there is a need also to undertake gender-oriented research into health issues and on the underlying social, psychological and cultural conditions.

Health Services

44. The Constitution of the Turkish Republic (1982) stresses the right of every citizen to live in a healthy and balanced environment (article number 56). To enhance the overall standards of health, it has also been adopted as a basic principle that services should be expanded to all on an egalitarian, sustainable and efficient basis. To this end, the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan (1990-94) quantifies a number of health sector targets. These include, inter alia, raising life expectancy to 68 years (already realized for women); lowering the infant mortality rate from 61 to 50 per thousand or below; and meeting the needs of those demanding health services by the provision of primary health care units. The plan also indicates the number of health personnel planned, per citizen. One of the most important policy changes in the last two five-year plans is that health services are no longer regarded as a public service to be carried out solely by the State. While the Fifth Plan puts forward "the encouragement of private health facilities and hospitals", the Sixth Plan states that "proper incentives shall be continued to help the private sector extend its services in meeting existing demand" (GT and UNICEF, 1991).

[IV] Akln, 1970/1990; Güven, 1972 /1990; Egemen, 1972/1990; Bumin, 1976/1990; Çetin, 1978/1990; Parlar, 1986/1990.

45. Institutions providing health services are primarily the Ministry of Health, Social Insurance Institution, faculties of medicine, other health institutions having official or semi- official character and the private sector. Most of the capacity is supplied by three main sources: Ministry of Health (51%), Social Insurance Institution (17%) and Universities (13%). The remaining capacity comes from the Ministry of National Defence (12%), State Economic Enterprises and other ministries, municipalities and the private sector

46. Since institutions which are supposed to extend health services share different fields of responsibility and there is no mechanism to coordinate them, the guiding role of the Ministry in this sector can be performed only partially. Under the Ministry's administration, there are 549 hospitals (with 68,258 total beds), 3,476 health centers, 11,076 health houses, 253 Dispensaries for Tuberculosis Control, 220 Maternal-Child Health and Family Planning Centers, 71 Public Health Laboratories, one central and 9 Regional Hygiene Institutes, 1 Malaria Eradication Institute and 67 Malaria Control Laboratories, 4 Dispensaries Psycho-therapy and 12 Leprosy Control Dispensaries. This national network gives preventive health services together with in- or out-patient treatment. The network of health centers and maternal/child health and family planning centers also gives out-patient and preventive services, including family planning. In addition, the Ministry of Health administers 246 schools which train nurses, midwives and health technicians (GT and UNICEF, 1991).

47. Under Social Insurance Law (Number 506), health care services are extended to those who are covered by the scheme, recipients of disability or old age pensions, their spouses and children, and widows and orphans (GT and UNICEF, 1991). The Social Insurance Institution extends health services to one-third of the country's population and provides treatment and assistance, basically through its own health institutions. However, in places where there is no such health institution or in cases where services are not given directly, services are bought from physicians and institutions on a contract basis or by referring the applicants to other health institutions. There are five occupational health high schools to train nurses and midwives for the Institution's health units and presently 815 students are enrolled in these schools. Faculties of Medicine are research, education and service institutions functioning on quite autonomous terms under the Higher Education Board.

48. The Ministry of Defence administers 42 hospitals which provide curative and preventive services to military personnel and their dependents. The Ministry also has an Academy of Medicine and a Nursing School. Active and retired Turkish Armed Forces personnel can receive services from their own health units. There is also a police hospital attached to the Ministry of the Interior. Apart from these, some municipalities like Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Kocaeli, the Turkish Post, Telephone, Telegraph, Ministry of National Education, Foundations and State Economic Enterprises such as State Railways, Agriculture Bank, Central Bank etc. have their own hospitals operating on a license granted by the Ministry of Health.

49. Turkish health statistics only include data on morbidity and mortality gathered in hospitals in the provinces and towns. To date, no uniform system of data collection for primary health care has been established. Available data indicate that 61% of all in-patients were women and that 30% of all in-patients were treated for pregnancy complications, abortions, delivery and delivery complications (MOHSA, 1988). Özcebe (1990) found that reproductive-age women use the primary health services more than men in semi-urban areas and mostly for urogenital system diseases, upper respiratory infections, pregnancy follow-up and family planning services.

50. Aksit's observations and findings during studies conducted in Sivas and particularly in Van show that uneducated women are less likely to seek professional medical care than educated ones (1989 and 1990), because they are not fully aware of what is offered. Many women do not want to be physically examined by male doctors; also some male physicians express their own unwillingness to examine women. So, the physical examination is often performed by the midwife or nurse who informs the physician (who stays in a separate room) as to what she sees, the physician tells her what to do, and the midwife conveys the physician's recommendations to the patient. Some women say that even in TV programs, they only watch women with a dress with long sleeves (Aksit, 1989). Thus, while not the general rule, these attitudes exist and underline the need both for more female physicians, especially in rural areas, and to address differing social priorities in the provision of health care services. The language barrier is also a critical issue in communication between health provider (such as physician, educator, nurse, midwife, etc.) and receiver, particularly for Kurdish women.

51. There is little information on the extent to which women are involved in the design and delivery of health services, other than that women account for 53% of all personnel working in the public health sector (Çitçi, 1988), that almost 26% of total (private and public) physicians are women (Özcan and Pehlivan, 1988) and 55% of paramedical personnel are women. In academic and clinical responsibilities, however, men occupy higher positions than women (Soyer, 1991). The male/female ratio is also helpful in understanding the employment of women at different levels in the medical schools: this ratio is 3.66 among professors and 2.47 among all academic staff.

52. In conclusion, means of maximizing the utility of health care, including promoting its acceptability are needed. In terms of the services and programs provided by the Ministry of Health, there is a need to increase the understanding of social and cultural values in the community.

Conclusions and Areas for Intervention

53. If the population growth rate (2.4% for the years 1975-85) remains constant, Turkey's population will be 71.3 million in the year 2000 - thus population will have more than tripled between 1950 and 2000.

- Hence, organization, coordination and planning of scarce resources in terms of health services, health manpower, financial issues etc. are crucial. Although life expectancy at age 5 for males and females has increased significantly since 1950, the population under age 5 remains at risk.

54. Official statistics are not sufficient to estimate accurately Turkey's maternal mortality rate. The maternal mortality rate was 208 per 100 thousand for the years 1974-75. More recently, a 1981 SIS survey showed a maternal mortality rate of 134 per 100 thousand births. This compares to a range of 5-15 deaths per 100,000 births in the developed countries. Official statistics show that the majority of maternal deaths in Turkey occur during childbirth and that half of all maternal deaths take place during delivery, one fourth during pregnancy and one fourth during the puerperium. Available maternal mortality estimates are based however on hospital births, which only account for about half of the deliveries.

- There is a need for data and research on maternal mortality rates, the causes and the risk factors - such as high fertility (including early marriage age), inadequate nutrition, and

under-utilization of existing health care services and the continued use of traditional practices, and on regional social and cultural values.

55. Turkey has experienced a significant fertility decline of more than a fifth since 1960, with the average number of children per women falling from 6.8 in 1960 to 3.7 in 1989. However, the significant variation due to the regional characteristics needs careful analysis.

56. The mean desired family size, or the ideal number of children, has also fallen significantly from 3 in 1978 to 2 in the 1988 surveys. Although there are no significant differences in the mean number of children desired among regions and place of residence, the mean is found to increase as the number of living children and age of the woman increases and to decrease as the educational status of the woman or her husband increases.

57. Recent studies show that it is still commonplace for parents to want to have male children - mostly for economic help and continuation of the family name. Traditional cultural beliefs and attitudes, such as "female children will go to another family and all their contributions will go the marital family", "a woman's only path to social status and personal achievement is through motherhood" remain important determining factors. However, it seems that this pattern is changing in favor of psychological satisfaction of younger and particularly, urban parents, where the sex of the child is less important (Ulusoy, 1986).

58. High mortality of children, early age of first marriage and fatalism are among the factors which determine the reality that the number of living children is 44% greater than desired. In 1988, the contraceptive acceptance rate was 77%, but, the use of modern methods was 38% and the use of traditional methods, 39% with withdrawal being the single most widely used method (31%).

- It is not sufficient only to expand family planning programs throughout Turkey. In addition, cultural and psychosocial aspects of fertility should be investigated and integrated into family planning programs.

59. To date, there have been two major nutritional studies in Turkey. These studies have focused on children, in part because their normal sequence of growth in weight and height makes it possible to measure with some accuracy the prevalence of malnutrition in Turkey. There are almost no data on food consumption within households and studies on women are also very limited, in terms of place, age and risk group such that it is difficult to generalize the results for Turkey, as the studies were conducted on small groups. Nonetheless, these indicate widespread nutritional deficiency in women (particularly, pregnant and lactating women), such as anaemia and goitre, which could effectively and at low cost be solved by the distribution of iron tablets and iodine-treated salt. A further problem is that the proper time for introduction of proper type of supplementary food to an infant's diet is not widely known in Turkey. The practices and their rationale need to be investigated and training programs be developed.

- A national study of food consumption at individual, household and community level and the nutritional health problems related to socio-economic and cultural factors should be undertaken in the near future and its recommendations incorporated into community programs.

60. There are many gaps in knowledge of health issues and for women, in particular. Gynecological conditions and diseases (such as pelvic infections, prolapsus and bleeding) are one of the areas most in need of study. In addition, it seems that the less educated women, are not aware of the physiology of reproduction, menarche and menopause or even the time of menstruation (Tümerdem, 1989; Aksayan et al, 1990; Erdogan, 1990).

- Greater consideration of socioeconomic and cultural factors should be introduced in the existing family health and family planning programs provided by the Ministry of Health.

61. Institutions which provide health services share different fields of responsibility and there is no mechanism to coordinate them. Every institution has its own record system, so there is no standard system which enables researchers to evaluate all data for one issue.

- A standardized recording system to provide information for planning and better health care system should be provided and mechanisms to improve coordination between the various health delivery services developed.

62. Although there are no accurate and detailed data on the involvement of women in the design and delivery of health services, it appears that the percentage of female personnel is high among providers, but low among planners and administrators. There is a need to expand female employment in these sectors and also develop systems to better understand the women who live in very different social and physical environments.

- The design and provision of health services and health programs needs team work by male and female physicians, nurses, midwives, health technicians, drivers, etc. In addition to these personnel, it would be helpful to include a sociologist or anthropologist who can help them understand the sociocultural characteristics and particularly the health-related values of the community and a social worker who can establish relations between service providers and the community.

63. The coordination and collaboration of various agencies, such as Ministries of the Interior, Education, Health, and TRT etc. can help to increase awareness of demand for better health. The collaboration of 'kaymakam' (head official of a district) and the health center physician of Caldiran in Van to expand and to make more acceptable the family planning services is a good example of this (Aksit, T. 1989). The language barrier is also a critical issue in communication between health providers (such as physician, educator, nurse, midwife, etc.) and receivers in some areas of the country. To resolve this, some health related programs to train the women in languages that can be understood by local inhabitants could be developed, for instance through GAP/TV (South-eastern Anatolian Project TV).

64. A woman's status and her health are intricately entwined. Any serious attempt to improve the health of women - if it is to succeed - must deal firstly with those ways in which a woman's health is constrained by social customs. Raising women's health level must proceed *pari passu* with raising their status in the family, and in the community. This will require the education of men and women, together, both formally and informally, in order to create people who are aware of and appreciate their own and others' bodies as human beings and their health. Women and men should share more fully in that most difficult and important of all tasks: protecting the lives and the health of all and the growth of their children.

ANNEX 3

LABOR FORCE DEFINITIONS

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LABOR FORCE DEFINITIONS

1. Definitions of the labor force and "participation" raise fundamental problems that have yet to be fully resolved. The labor force or "economically active population" is a derived concept: the sum of the number of individuals who are classified as "employed" and those classified as "unemployed". The category "not-in-the-labor force" ("economically inactive") is obtained as a residual - those who are not classified as either employed or unemployed. The operational definition of the labor force participation rate is an ambiguous concept and subject to measurement errors, especially for women. In the numerator is the number of people in the labor force (the "economically active" population), which comprises the employed plus those who declare that they are seeking work. The denominator is the number of people who are considered capable of accepting (civilian) market employment - the labor force plus the so-called "economically inactive population", which usually excludes young children, and the "institutionalized population".

2. Participation rates are also affected by how they are measured. For instance, changes in the eligibility age of the labor force (the numerator) - as occurred in Turkey in 1970 when the eligibility age for the economically active population was changed to 12 years from 15 years in the earlier censuses - but also by the normalization group (the denominator). It is possible to obtain different measures of participation rates - the so-called "crude" and "refined" rates. Crude participation rates, which standardize by the total population, may be misleading if there are pronounced changes in the age structure of the population, especially among younger and older groups. Refined participation rates, which show the percentages of the work force among the population of a given age group, for example, 15-64 years, control for variations in the age structure of the population.

3. Since the criteria used to define the two components of the labor force have changed over time and differ between agencies that collect labor data, the differing definitions of "labor force" and "labor force participation rates" are briefly reviewed here.

Population Census (1985)[29]

4. The key concepts in the Census are "economically active" and "economically inactive" population. The "economically active" population refers to anyone who meets the eligibility age and "who worked at least one day during the week prior to the census with the purpose of obtaining an income in kind or in cash; those who were not working but had a job and those who did not have a job but were seeking one". The "economically inactive" population refers to those "who did not work to obtain an income in kind or in cash during the week prior to the Census, who did not have a job and who were not seeking a job".

5. These definitions, which are identical to the ILO, provide only a partial account of women's labor force activities. Specifically, a large proportion of Turkish women work in

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[29] Labor force data from the 1990 Census will not be published until April 1992.

the household, on the farm, the family business, or in homebased market-activities and much of the work in these activities is unpaid, discontinuous, seasonal, and/or difficult to distinguish from domestic chores. The 1985 Census also uses only a "reference week" benchmark, and the person must have worked a minimal amount of time, at least one day.

OECD

6. The OECD defines the labor force as all persons above a specified age who, during a reference period, are "employed" or "unemployed". The employed comprise "all persons above a specified age who during a specified brief period, either one week or one day, were in the following categories": (1) Paid employment - persons "at work" for wage or salary, in cash or in kind or persons "with a job but not at work" during the reference period, but who have a "formal" attachment to their job as reflected by (a) "the continued receipt of wage or salary"; (b) "assurance of return to work following the end of the contingency, or agreement as to the date of return"; (c) "the elapsed duration of absence from the job, which ... may be that duration for which workers can receive compensation benefits without obligations to accept other jobs". (2) Self-employment - persons who (a) were at work during the reference period. i.e. "performed some work for profit or family gain, in cash or in kind"; (b) with an enterprise but not at work, i.e. "persons with an enterprise, which may be a business enterprise, a farm or a service undertaking, who were temporarily not at work during the reference period for any specific reason".[10/]

7. The unemployed are persons who during the reference period were: (1) "without work. i.e. not in paid employment or self-employment, as defined above"; (2) "currently available for work, i.e. were available for paid or self-employment during the reference period"; (3) "seeking work , i.e. had taken specific steps [e.g. registration at employment exchanges, checking at worksites, application to employers, seeking assistance of family or friends, placing or responding to advertisements; looking for resources to establish an enterprise, applying for permits and licenses, etc.] in a specified recent period to seek paid or self-employment".[11/]

SIS Household Labor Force Surveys

8. The SIS recognized long ago that Census statistics were unreliable and deficient as regards labor force activities. However, it took almost two decades to generate accurate and reliable information on labor markets. SIS launched the first household labor force surveys on an experimental basis in 1967 and 1968 for urban areas only. In 1973-74, the surveys were undertaken for rural areas only, and in

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[10/] The following clarifications should be noted: the concept of "some work" should be interpreted as "work for at least one hour"; the "paid employment" category includes apprentices who received pay in cash or in kind and members of the armed forces; the self-employment category includes: employers, own account workers, members of producers' co-operatives, unpaid family workers at work irrespective of the number of hours worked during the reference period, and "persons engaged in the production of economic goods and services for own and household consumption...if such production comprises an important contribution to the total consumption of the household"

[11/] The following are noteworthy clarifications: (a) "In situations where the conventional means of seeking work are of limited relevance, where the labour market is largely unorganized or of limited scope, where labour absorption is, at the time inadequate, or where the labour force is largely self-employed, the standard definition of unemployment given [above] may be applied by relaxing the criterion of seeking work"; (b) students, homemakers and others mainly engaged in non-economic activities during the reference period are regarded as unemployed.

1982, 1983 and 1984 it switched back to urban areas only. In 1985, the SIS revamped the questionnaire and conducted the surveys for both rural and urban areas. Surveys were not conducted in 1986 and 1987. In 1988, SIS undertook again a comprehensive revision of the questionnaire and sampling methodology, and the biannual nationwide (urban and rural) surveys for 1988, 1989, and 1990 are based on this questionnaire. The latest available survey (April 1990) used a sample of 11,160 households - 7,440 in 58 urban settlements (with a population of over 20,000) and 3,720 households in 150 rural settlements (with a population of 20,000 or less). The publications provide a wealth of labor market information stratified by gender and place of residence (urban/rural). They also contain information on employment, unemployment, underemployment, worker status, sector of employment, occupation, size and location of workplace, multiple job holdings, age, and education. Although data on earnings are collected, they are not released.

9. The new surveys, by collecting data on hours of work, took an important step in reducing the statistical invisibility of women's work. A key question asked is: "Did you do any work at all, paid, unpaid, even for one hour during the last week?" In addition, information is collected on actual weekly hours of work in the main job and in secondary jobs. Although the surveys collect data on "usual" hours of work, these are not published. Only the reasons for differences between "actual and "usual" hours are available in published form.

ANNEX 4

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

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WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

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ANNEX 4

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Introduction

1. Beginning in the early 1980s, Turkey's industrialization strategy changed from one of import-substitution to export-orientation and simultaneously, of freeing up the sector to competition - both from within and without. With stabilization policies resulting in a depreciating Lira, high interest rates and low wages, the resulting growth of the manufacturing sector, and in particular of manufactured exports is well known. Production increases, particularly in the first half of the decade, were realized by increasing capacity utilization rather than new investment. The impact on employment, and particularly on the employment of women, however has received little consideration.

Women's Involvement in the Industrial Sector

Trends in Women's Participation

2. According to the 1985 Census, women accounted for 35% of the total labor force, but just over 10% of the industrial sector labor force, 13% of the service sectors and approximately 50% of the agricultural labor force. While the women's share of employment in the industrial and agricultural sectors has remained essentially constant since 1955 (the first data used in this report), the services sector has shown a slow but steady increase (Table 2). Over the 1970-90 period, women's participation rates in the industrial sector and rates of employment growth do not show marked changes, which suggests that the outward-oriented adjustment policies for industry have not significantly contributed to increased employment of women in this sector.

3. Women's involvement in industry in Turkey has a long history - as early as the 17th century women worked in cottage industries, and particularly in the textiles and food sectors. In the last two centuries of the Ottoman Empire, the textiles and food industries dominated the industrial sector and they relied heavily on women's labor. According to the first industrial censuses conducted in 1913 and 1915, the textiles and food industries accounted for 55% of total production in the manufacturing sector and that of those employed in textiles, approximately 50% were women and in the food industry, almost 30% were women (Okçün, G. 1970). The censuses also indicate that of the total female work-force in industry, almost 75% worked in textiles and approximately 25% worked in the food sector.

4. Following the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the first census was conducted in 1927. Subsequently, they have been undertaken at five year intervals. The early censuses (1935, 1940, 1945), however did not provide data on women's economic activities and their employment status until 1950. This annex includes some data from the 1950 census, but these should be used cautiously since, *inter alia* the census only included economically active persons living in settlements with populations of 5,000 or over. In addition, the age of eligibility for employment was defined as 5 years and above. Since the Labor Force Surveys (1988-90) are based on a sample population only, which in working with sub-sectoral classifications was not sufficient to permit generalization (see for instance, Table 6 below),

TABLE 1: Trends in Labor Force Participation by Gender, 1955-75

Year/Data Source	Male	Female
	(%)	
Population Censuses		
1955	89.6	68.9
1960	87.0	62.8
1965	85.2	54.8
1970	79.5	50.3
1975	80.9	47.3
1980	79.8	45.8
1985	78.3	43.6
Household Labor Force Surveys		
1988 (October)	76.5	34.3
1989 (October)	75.4	36.0
1990 (April)	73.9	33.4

Note: Eligibility age is 12 years, 1970-90 and 15 years for 1955-65.

Source: 1955-85, Yearbook of Labor Statistics, ILO.
1988-90, Household Labor Force Surveys, SIS

this annex relies primarily on the published population censuses, the last of which was undertaken in 1985. Results of the 1990 Census, which would provide the basis for fully analyzing the impact of adjustment policies on women's employment, will not be published until April 1992.

5. The industrial sector is defined here to include four sub-sectors: manufacturing; mining and quarrying; construction, gas and electricity. This definition is not consistently followed in all data sources in Turkey; for instance, in some sources, gas and electricity are included within the services sector, however, this is not critical since female participation in the gas and electricity sector is negligible.

TABLE 2: Distribution of Employed Population by Economic Activities and by Gender, 1950-1990

	1950			1955			1960			1965		
	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total
Agriculture	14.9	48.0	48.0	63.6	95.6	53.3	61.1	95.0	51.7	58.4	94.1	49.6
Industry	28.5	14.6	10.2	12.7	2.3	12.3	14.6	2.8	11.6	16.0	1.6	5.7
Services	42.4	15.6	7.3	13.6	1.5	7.7	16.0	1.8	7.2	16.4	2.5	9.6
Other	14.2	23.8	25.0	10.1	0.6	3.7	8.3	0.4	3.3	9.2	1.8	10.4
Total	100	100	-	100	100		100	100		100	100	

	1970			1975			1980			1985			1990		
	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total
Agriculture	54.0	89.5	50.4	5.5	88.4	46.9	44.0	87.3	53.6	43.1	86.5	53.5	36.7	80.7	50.0
Industry	16.5	5.2	16.5	16.6	4.3	12.5	22.2	4.6	10.7	21.1	4.6	11.0	23.8	7.0	11.9
Services	26.7	4.3	9.3	26.4	6.3	11.7	32.7	7.5	11.8	35.1	8.7	12.5	39.5	12.3	12.4
Other	2.8	1.0	17.6	1.5	1.0	27.4	1.1	0.6	23.9	0.7	0.2	12.0			
Total	100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100	

Notes: 1950, economic activity age is 5.
Economic activity age is 15 and over, 1955-65.
Economic activity age is 12 and over, 1970-90.
Industry consists of manufacturing, mining and quarrying, construction and electricity, gas and water.
Services consist of trade, hotels and restaurants, transport, storage, communication, financing, insurance, real estate and business services, community social and personal services.

Sources: For 1950-1985 SIS Population Consensus; for 1990 SIS Household Labor Force Survey (April).

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6. With regard to female employment, the industrial sector is virtually synonymous with manufacturing - since 1950, approximately 97% of all women in the industrial sector have worked in manufacturing, 2% in construction and less than 1% in both mining and utilities (Table 3). The low participation rates of women in mining is in large part the consequence of protective legislation regarding women's employment (Labor Law, Article 68), according to which all types of underground and underwater work are prohibited for women of all ages. The low employment of women in construction and utilities also reflects protective legislation and the view that jobs in this sector are unsuitable, except for white-collar positions.

7. Within the manufacturing sector, the high concentration of women in textiles and food industries, noted in the 1913 and 1915 Censuses continues: in recent years, approximately 66% of women employed in manufacturing worked in textiles and 14% in food industries (Table 4).[12/] Machinery and equipment is the third most important sector where the share of women is high, about 7%. Although slight variations have occurred in female participation rates among the sub-sectors, overall the shares have remained largely stable since 1975.

8. Several reasons can be given. Consumption good industries have dominated the manufacturing industry for many years and have offered more and diverse employment opportunities. Private sector investment in capital and intermediate goods, reflecting the private sector's assessment of the economy and the perceived lower profitability of these sectors, has consistently remained weak. In any event, their employment potential for women would likely be lower than that of the consumer goods industry. Over the past decade, the production of consumer durables has increased and some industrial branches producing intermediate goods such as metal products, electrical machinery, apparatus and supplies, earthenware and glassware have developed considerably. Women have started to enter employment in these sectors in small numbers, but the labor-force in these sectors remains predominantly male (Ecevit, 1986a).

9. The concentration of women in a limited number of manufacturing sub-sectors also reflects perceptions as to the gender suitability of particular jobs. It appears that new occupations become quickly segregated and once established, an industry's pattern of employment by gender quickly develops legitimacy and becomes difficult to change. Recent studies (Ecevit, 1991) stress that in Turkey, males are thought to be suited to jobs requiring physical strength and technical skills whereas women are considered more suited to routine jobs, requiring dexterity and accuracy. It is also believed that women are 'naturally' inclined to be 'patient' and 'meticulous', characteristics thought to be essential for certain occupations.

12/ The textile sector consists of the manufacture of textiles, wearing apparel and footwear; the food sub-sector consists of the production of food, beverages and tobacco; the machinery and equipment sub-sector consists of the production of fabricated metal products, machinery, appliances, transport equipment, and professional, scientific and measuring equipment (SIS, 1986).

TABLE 3: Distribution of Employed Population by Industrial Sectors and by Gender, 1950-1990

	1950			1955			1960			1965		
	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total
Mining	7.1	0.6	0.9	7.8	1.8	1.9	6.8	0.7	1.3	6.4	1.4	1.3
Manufacturing	79.8	98.3	12.0	68.7	97.2	16.5	56.1	97.7	16.3	65.7	95.5	8.1
Electricity, Gas and Water	1.4	0.4	2.9	1.0	0.3	2.6	11.4	0.2	0.7	1.9	0.3	1.7
Construction	11.7	0.7	0.7	22.5	1.5	0.9	25.7	1.4	2.4	26.0	2.8	0.5
Total	100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100	

	1970			1975			1980			1985			1990		
	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total	Male	Female	Females as Prop. of Total
Mining	6.9	1.3	3.6	6.0	0.5	1.3	5.0	0.4	1.0	4.9	0.5	1.3	5.5	0.1	0.3
Manufacturing	64.8	95.5	22.5	64.6	96.7	15.4	64.5	97.5	15.4	67.3	97.1	15.2	65.7	96.5	16.6
Electricity, Gas and Water	0.9	0.3	6.0	1.0	0.9	11.6	1.2	0.6	5.7	0.8	0.3	4.7	1.3	0.3	0.0
Construction	27.4	2.9	2.0	28.4	1.9	0.3	29.3	1.5	0.6	27.0	2.1	0.9	27.5	3.1	1.5
Total	100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100	

Notes: 1950, economic activity age is 5.
Economic activity age is 15 and over, 1955-65.
Economic activity age is 12 and over, 1970-90.

Sources: For 1950-1985 SIS Population Consensus; for 1990 SIS Household Labor Force Survey (April).

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TABLE 4: Distribution of Employed Population by Manufacturing Sectors and by Gender, 1950-1985

Manufacturing Sectors	1950		1955		1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(%)															
Food, Beverages and Tobacco	15.5	23.6	16.6	12.7	16.6	12.1	15.8	30.3	15.6	8.1	14.1	12.0	17.0	17.7	16.0	13.5
Textiles, Apparel and Leather	42.5	66.5	37.5	76.3	33.5	76.2	28.9	45.9	27.1	78.3	22.6	63.1	22.8	63.1	25.7	66.4
Wood, Wood Products, Furniture	8.4	2.7	14.1	4.8	13.1	3.9	11.7	1.6	13.6	2.5	14.5	1.5	13.2	1.9	12.9	1.9
Paper, Printing, Publishing	2.3	1.0	2.2	0.8	2.3	0.7	2.6	1.9	2.9	0.8	3.1	2.7	2.9	1.3	3.2	1.8
Chemicals and Petroleum	2.6	2.2	2.1	1.6	2.6	1.5	3.3	4.3	4.1	1.6	4.1	3.4	6.0	4.1	5.8	3.9
Non-metallic Mineral Products	3.9	1.0	3.8	1.0	3.9	1.0	4.0	1.8	4.5	1.0	4.2	1.8	6.0	2.7	5.5	2.6
Metals	1.5	0.2	1.6	0.2	2.3	0.2	3.2	0.6	3.9	0.5	5.9	1.6	6.1	0.9	5.1	0.8
Fabricated Metal Products & Machinery	21.4	2.4	20.4	2.4	21.1	1.2	21.6	2.7	18.6	2.3	22.6	6.2	22.0	5.6	23.0	7.2
Other	1.9	0.4	1.7	0.2	4.6	3.2	8.9	10.9	9.7	4.9	8.9	8.7	4.0	2.7	2.8	1.9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Notes: Economically active population was calculated for settlements with a population of 5,000 and over.
Economic activity age is 5 and over for 1950; 15 for 1955-65 and 12 and over for 1970-90.
Source: SIS, Population Censuses

TABLE 4a: Distribution of Employed Population by Gender in Manufacturing Subsectors, 1950-1985

Manufacturing Sectors	1950		1955		1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(%)															
Food, Beverages and Tobacco	81.9	18.1	86.9	13.1	87.6	12.4	85.6	14.4	86.9	13.1	84.6	15.4	84.2	15.8	86.9	13.1
Textiles, Apparel and Leather	82.0	18.0	71.4	28.6	69.4	30.6	87.8	12.2	54.4	45.6	62.6	37.4	66.6	33.4	68.4	31.6
Wood, Wood Products, Furniture	95.6	4.4	93.7	6.3	94.5	5.5	98.8	1.2	94.9	5.1	97.9	2.1	97.4	2.6	97.5	2.5
Paper, Printing, Publishing	95.1	4.9	93.0	7.0	94.5	5.5	93.8	6.2	92.9	7.1	84.5	15.5	92.3	7.7	90.9	9.1
Chemicals and Petroleum	89.7	10.3	87.2	12.9	89.8	10.2	89.8	10.2	89.8	10.2	84.6	15.4	89.1	10.9	85.1	10.9
Non-metallic Mineral Products	96.5	3.5	95.0	5.0	95.1	4.9	96.4	3.6	93.9	6.1	91.4	8.6	92.4	7.6	92.3	7.7
Metals	97.9	2.1	98.2	1.8	98.3	1.7	98.3	1.7	96.5	3.5	97.8	2.2	97.3	2.7	97.2	2.8
Fabricated Metal Products & Machinery	98.3	1.7	97.7	2.3	98.9	1.1	98.9	1.1	96.5	3.5	94.4	5.6	95.6	4.4	94.7	5.3
Other	96.9	3.1	97.8	2.7	87.9	12.1	90.3	9.7	87.2	12.8	82.7	17.3	89.0	11.0	87.6	12.4

Notes: Economically active population was calculated for settlements with a population of 5,000 and over.
Economic activity age is 5 and over for 1950; 15 for 1955-65 and 12 and over for 1970-90.
Source: SIS, Population Censuses

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Occupational Status of Women in the Manufacturing Sector

10. Table 5 below summarizes the occupational status by gender since 1950 within the manufacturing sector. The majority (80%) of employees in manufacturing - both male and female - are in the "production and related workers" category. Employment of both men and women in this category has fallen consistently since 1950, when approximately 95% of employees were in "production". The greatest growth of female employment in the manufacturing sector has taken place in the "scientific, technical and professional", clerical and service workers categories,[13/] whereas for men the employment growth has been concentrated in "administrative and managerial" and service workers. The gender differential is greatest in the "administrative and managerial" category - and the differential appears to be increasing. Table 6 below summarizes the distribution of employment by position in the manufacturing sector in 1986. The data show a significant difference between gender skill levels - namely, over 30% of men are in white collar occupations (including administrative, technical or managerial positions) compared to 18% of women.

11. Within the "production and related workers" group it is important to note that women are concentrated in four subgroups: 45% work as spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers and related workers; 25 % work as tailors, dressmakers, seamstresses, upholsterers; 6% work as food and beverage processors and 5% as tobacco preparers and tobacco product makers (SIS, 1985 Population Census).

Employment Status of Women in the Manufacturing Sector

12. Table 7 below, which summarizes employment status by gender in the manufacturing sector, shows a significant increase in the proportion of female wage earners in the manufacturing sector between since 1970 and 1990[14/] - from 40% to 66% and a steady decline in proportion of unpaid family workers from 18% in 1970 to 5% in 1990. These trends are much stronger than for the industry sector as a whole (see Chapter II). The trends in female employment in the manufacturing sector suggests that while their employment growth was not rapid, that the sector has created significant job opportunities since 1970. The trends also suggest that to the extent that employment opportunities develop for women, that women take the opportunities regardless of factors such as perceived inferior status (for instance, of factory work) or social pressures. The data also support trends in other countries - that initially, the majority of women work as unpaid workers, assisting their male relatives, mainly due to the lack of job opportunities in modern organized sectors. When opportunities do emerge, they prefer working in the factories rather than in homebased industries. Working outside of the home corresponds with an improvement in their status within the family.

13/ Until 1965, clerical workers were included in the administrative category.

14/ There appear to be discontinuities within the Census data for the manufacturing sector (notably for 1955, 1960 and 1970) and between the Census and the Labor Force Survey data.

TABLE 5: Distribution of Employed Population by Occupational Status and Gender in Manufacturing Industry, 1950-1990

Occupations	1950		1955		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(%)															
Scientific, Technical and Professional	1.6	1.0	1.0	0.5	1.4	1.6	2.7	1.5	2.1	1.6	2.8	2.0	3.8	2.8	3.3	3.3
Administrative and Managerial	2.7	2.0	3.3	1.4	4.1	4.6	2.1	0.3	0.8	0.2	2.9	0.6	2.8	0.6	5.7	0.6
Clerical and Related							1.9	1.7	1.4	1.7	2.8	5.7	2.5	6.2	3.5	6.3
Sales	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.5	0.3	1.0	0.3	1.5	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.6	0.3	1.0	0.4
Service	1.0	0.3	1.5	0.4	1.7	1.0	2.1	0.6	1.5	0.5	3.4	2.0	2.8	2.3	4.6	4.8
Agricultural, Animal Husbandry, Forestry & Fisheries	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	1.3	1.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.0
Production, Transport, Equipment Operators, Laborers	94.1	96.3	85.9	93.5	90.5	90.7	76.2	87.0	91.4	94.2	87.1	89.3	87.4	87.7	80.7	80.5
Others	0.1	0.1	7.5	3.8	1.6	1.7	13.8	8.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.9	4.1

Notes: Others include persons without an occupation and unknown.
No data are available for 1960.
Source: For 1950-1985, SIS Population Censuses; for 1990, SIS Household Labour Force Survey (April).

TABLE 6: Distribution of Employed Population in Manufacturing Industry by Position and by Gender

Position	Male	Female	As % of Total Male	As % of Total Female
		(%)		
Administration and Managerial	3.6	1.3	91.9	8.1
Office Personnel	5.7	10.0	70.8	29.1
Other Personnel	10.4	4.6	91.4	8.5
Senior Technician	2.4	1.1	89.8	10.1
Foremen	9.2	1.8	95.5	4.4
Skilled Workers	33.1	30.5	82.2	17.7
Unskilled Workers	23.2	26.1	79.0	20.9
Temporary Workers	10.2	16.6	72.4	27.4
Apprentices	2.2	8.0	53.3	46.6

Source: SIS, Manufacturing Industry: The Results of Manpower Training and Requirements Survey. Publ. No: 1220, 1985, Ankara.

TABLE 6a: Distribution of Employed Population in Manufacturing Subsectors by Gender and Position, 1986

	Administration & Managerial Personnel		Office Personnel		Other Personnel		Senior Technical		Foremen		Skilled Workers		Unskilled Workers		Temporary Workers		Apprentices	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	4,201	428	7,938	2,681	16,619	1,728	2,020	196	7,711	147	26,487	3,652	37,678	3,652	46,638	21,866	3,683	10,579
Textile & Clothing	3,537	437	4,801	2,998	10,266	2,173	1,670	332	11,063	770	54,172	35,453	31,529	35,453	3,018	1,589	1,287	731
Wood Products & Furniture	490	22	602	293	1,101	72	191	11	1,373	1	4,326	165	2,743	165	759	11	258	13
Paper & Paper Products	722	92	1,722	735	2,312	200	361	36	5,173	15	4,745	540	5,966	540	543	78	506	36
Plastics	3,424	318	6,015	2,234	7,658	379	1,950	387	7,827	152	13,250	1,140	12,278	1,140	1,509	183	937	42
Non-Metallic Minerals	2,136	196	3,560	1,127	6,872	325	1,281	220	4,516	80	19,642	807	20,360	870	6,052	482	668	13
Metals	2,394	139	3,150	1,206	8,829	370	2,946	102	9,196	28	29,601	203	14,096	203	3,264	211	225	17
Fabricated Metal Goods	6,247	405	8,514	3,631	10,391	722	4,869	481	12,017	154	58,371	3,471	22,346	3,471	3,630	471	5,875	887
Other	137	7	151	70	211	18	54	4	189	17	658	269	845	269	21	11	26	27
Total	23,288	2,044	36,453	14,976	64,259	5,987	15,342	1,739	59,015	2,744	211,255	45,700	147,841	45,700	65,343	24,852	14,065	12,295

Source: SIS, Manufacturing Industry: The Results of Manpower Training and Requirements Survey. Pub. No. 1220, 1996, Ankara.

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TABLE 7: Distribution of Employed Population by Employment Status and Gender in the Manufacturing Industry, 1955-1990

Employment Status	1955		1560		1970		1975		1980		1985		1990	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(%)													
Employee	52.4	44.3	52.4	40.0	71.9	39.0	74.7	66.0	76.8	71.2	79.2	78.7	71.2	66.4
Employer	1.9	0.3	6.0	0.9	2.1	0.6	3.0	0.6	3.7	0.7	3.5	0.7	11.0	0.4
Self-employed	37.2	17.6	33.7	32.1	22.7	42.9	19.3	17.3	16.7	11.6	14.9	8.9	7.6	18.3
Unpaid Family Worker	6.1	36.0	6.7	26.6	3.3	17.5	2.9	16.1	2.8	16.5	2.4	11.7	4.2	5.4
Temporary Worker*	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6.0	9.5
Unknown	2.4	1.8	1.2	0.4	..	..	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		

(..): Data not available.
(*): Temporary worker category appears only in the Household Survey.

Sources: For 1955-1985, SIS Population Censuses; for 1990, SIS Household Labor Force Survey (April).

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13. The decline in the proportion of self-employed women from just over 40% in 1970 to 18% in 1990 deserves elaboration. While the fluctuations undoubtedly reflect, in part, changing statistical definitions, their decline is, at least partially real. Namely, looking at sub-sectors, the proportion of tailors (seamstresses) as a subgroup of self-employed women was 82% in 1970 but fell to 32% in 1985. As ready-made clothing dominates the market, fewer people continue to wear tailored clothes and this inevitably reduced tailors' livelihoods. A continuing decline in this category is expected as ready-made clothing increases its share of the clothing market. The share of women who are classified as "employers" is very small and has remained stable in the Census data whereas the male share has grown steadily. This reflects in part the prevailing view that it is inappropriate for a woman to run a workplace by herself, given the competitive nature of the manufacturing industry, the type of work involved and the conditions of workplaces.

Women's Employment in Private and Public Manufacturing Industries

14. According to the Manufacturing Industry Manpower and Training Requirements Survey (1986), private sector employment accounts for approximately 70% of manufacturing sector employment for both men and women (Table 8a). It is noteworthy that the public enterprises hire a significantly higher proportion of men than women in all sectors, including the generally female-dominated food and textile sectors, except for the basic metal industries (Table 8).

Women's Employment in Large and Small Manufacturing Enterprises

15. In general, large establishments offer better employment opportunities in that working conditions are better, wages are paid regularly and regulations rather than the employers regulate the working environment. The distribution of females between small and large establishments is presented in Table 9. Although based on only two years of observations, the surveys show that between 1988 and 1990 women's share in small factories declined from 46% to 37%; this trend is even more pronounced in urban enterprises, where women's share fell from 41% in small enterprises in 1988 to 29% in 1990. In other words, there is a 12% increase in the employment of women in medium and large enterprises (59% to 71%) between 1988 and 1990. If the share of women in large enterprises continues to rise as Household Labor Survey results seem to indicate, more women will be employed in organized and formal sectors, which will affect their employment conditions positively.

Women's Participation in the Industrial Sector by Age

16. The female labor force in the manufacturing sector is relatively young. The highest activity ages of women are between 15-24 years (almost 40% of the sectoral labor force) and if the 12-14 age group is also included, women under the age of 25 comprise 50% of the female industrial labor force (Table 10). The male participation rates for the 15-24 years group is 28% and for the 12-24 age group, 31%. The difference in gender participation rates at these ages reflects very largely parents' differential schooling preferences for sons and daughters. After 25, female participation rates decline consistently with age, reflecting both their roles as wives and mothers but also, a marked preference of employers for younger women, who are considered to be both more productive and obedient. Frequently, an age limit of 25 is set for applicants.

TABLE 8: Distribution of Employed Population by Manufacturing Sub-Sectors, in Public & Private Enterprises by Gender, 1986.

Manufacturing Sectors	State		Private		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(%)					
Food, Beverages & Tobacco	69.9	52.6	31.1	47.4	100	100
Textiles, Apparel & Leather	21.2	13.4	78.8	86.6	100	100
Wood, Wood Products, Furniture	39.8	20.4	60.2	79.6	100	100
Paper, Printing, Publishing	58.5	45.3	41.5	54.7	100	100
Chemical & Petroleum	32.3	12.5	67.7	87.5	100	100
Non-metallic Mineral Products	20.7	11.8	79.3	88.2	100	100
Basic Metal Industries	53.7	54.0	46.3	46.0	100	100
Fabricated Metal Products & Machinery	21.9	8.7	78.1	91.3	100	100
Other	14.5	18.7	85.5	81.3	100	100

Source: SIS Results of Manpower Training and Requirements Survey, 1986, Publications No. 1220, Ankara.

TABLE 8a: Proportion of Manufacturing Sector Labor Force Employed in Public Enterprises, (Total Manufacturing Industry: 100)

Manufacturing Sectors	Employment		
	1971	1980	1985
		(%)	
Food	46.3	46.9	43.9
Beverages	46.9	47.7	41.6
Tobacco	80.4	95.2	83.7
Textiles	24.7	19.9	17.7
Garments	32.2	15.0	9.3
Wood & Wood Products	44.8	38.3	46.4
Furniture	-	-	-
Paper	79.7	67.8	64.7
Printing, Publishing	17.2	23.5	19.8
Leather	-	-	-
Plastics	-	0.2	-
Chemicals	25.6	32.2	36.9
Petroleum - Coal	84.4	74.1	58.3
Non-Metallic Minerals	25.9	18.9	18.7
Metals	67.7	66.4	63.3
Fabricated Metals	22.1	6.8	6.9
Machinery	18.0	26.5	29.7
Electrical Machinery	8.1	7.0	12.1
Transportation Equipment	60.9	38.8	30.5
Total	37.7	36.1	39.7

Source: SIS Statistical Year Books and Manufacturing Industry Survey Results.

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TABLE 9: Distribution of Manufacturing Sector Labor Force by Size of Enterprise and Gender, 1988-1990

	1988						1989						1990					
	National		Urban		Rural		National		Urban		Rural		National		Urban		Rural	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(%)																	
Small Establishments (1-9 Persons)	46.4	46.4	45.2	40.5	50.3		42.1		41.0	46.0	46.0	79.6	43.6	37.1	39.1	28.6	56.5	60.3
Large Establishments (10 or more Persons)	53.6	53.6	54.8	59.5	49.6		57.9		59.0	54.0	54.0	20.4	56.4	62.9	58.9	71.4	43.5	39.7

Source: SIS Household Labour Force Surveys, 1988-1989 (October), 1990 (April).

TABLE 10: Distribution of Manufacturing Sector Labor Force by Age and Gender, 1950-1985

Age	1950		1955		1960		1965		1970		1975		1980		1985	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	(%)															
5-14	5.6	8.4														
12-14									3.8	6.7	3.7	6.9	3.9	7.3	3.6	10.1
15-19	18.7	23.2	19.1	24.3	17.5	23.0	19.7	29.2	18.1	27.4	16.5	20.5	16.2	24.5	15.4	24.5
20-24	13.4	15.1	13.4	17.4	12.1	16.5	11.5	15.1	13.0	17.9	15.1	19.7	13.1	19.5	13.0	13.4
25-29	23.0	16.7[1]	16.3	13.6	17.6	14.2	15.3	11.2	14.9	11.8	16.3	11.7	18.9	14.4	18.9	11.3
30-34			12.5	9.6	14.8	11.8	14.9	11.0	12.3	10.2	11.9	9.3	15.0	10.5	16.1	9.4
35-39	20.9	17.7[2]	7.9	7.3	10.3	9.1	12.2	10.9	12.2	9.2	9.5	7.5	10.3	7.9	12.6	7.8
40-44			9.8	8.1	6.1	5.9	8.1	7.6	9.2	6.7	9.1	7.2	7.8	6.3	7.9	6.3
45-49	11.6	11.7[3]	7.3	6.1	7.4	5.9	4.7	4.6	6.1	3.8	6.8	4.9	6.8	4.7	5.1	5.8
50-54			5.6	5.3	5.7	5.1	5.6	4.6	3.5	2.2	4.[illegible]	4.3	4.3	2.6	3.9	5.7
55-59	4.8	5.2[4]	3.7	3.2	3.8	3.2	3.7	2.9	3.0	1.5	2.0	1.8	2.0	1.1	2.0	1.7
60-64			2.1	2.6	2.5	2.8	2.3	1.7	2.0	1.2	2.2	2.8	0.7	0.4	0.8	3.2
65+	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.3	2.1	2.4	1.9	1.1	1.9	1.4	2.2	3.2	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.6
Unknown	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

[1] Between ages 25-34
[2] Between ages 35-44
[3] Between ages 45-54
[4] Between ages 55-64

Source: BIS Population Censuses

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Educational Status of Women in the Industrial Sector

17. The educational attainments of the female labor force in the manufacturing sector has increased considerably in recent years - the percentage of "illiterate" and "literate without a diploma" women fell from 45% in 1970 to 16% in 1985; while the corresponding decline for men was from 20% to 7%. Thus, although considerable progress has been realized in narrowing the educational gender gap, the female labor force remains at a disadvantage. Table 11 below, which shows the source of training of the skilled labor force underscores the importance of schooling in the employment of women - 45% of skilled women received their training at school compared to 18% of men. It is also significant that 59% of men compared to 34% of women received their training on the job.

TABLE 11: Distribution of Skilled Labor Force by Type of Training & Gender, 1985

Type of Training	Total	Male	Female
	(%)		
School	21.5	18.2	44.9
In-Service	8.2	8.4	6.0
On-the-Job	55.5	58.6	34.0
At a course	12.1	12.2	12.0
In Army	1.7	1.9	-
At Home	0.8	0.4	3.1
Other	0.2	0.3	0.0
Total	100.	100.	100.
	(4,552,649)	(3,996,231)	586,418

Source: Household Labor Force Survey, 1985, p.30-31.

18. It is also significant that the proportion of the skilled labor force receiving training from a vocational course is low (12%) and the same for both men and women. However, Table 12 below, which shows the percentage of the unemployed labor force by gender and by both education and age, reveals that more than half the unemployed adults do not wish to receive training but that a significantly higher proportion of unemployed women (45%) than men (25%) do wish to receive training - at all levels of education and at all ages (up to 50).

TABLE 12: Distribution of Active Unemployed Labor Force Who Do Not Want Vocational Training by Gender, Education and Age, 1985

	Unemployed	Don't Want (%)	Unemployed	Don't Want (%)
I. Educational Level				
Illiterate	56,210	82.24	31,669	58.72
Literate Without Diploma	36,401	80.59	12,171	61.21
Primary School	357,134	72.35	136,250	52.03
Junior High School	93,547	75.68	42,277	37.00
Vocational Jr. High Sch.	3,227	77.35	869	39.12
General High School	95,824	73.08	102,627	55.92
Voc. & Tech. High Sch.	51,623	74.72	39,788	63.19
Higher Education	32,768	91.73	22,111	88.73
II. Age				
12-14	32,498	44.7	9,115	33.1
15-19	170,081	57.8	123,850	0.4
20-24	191,626	74.3	131,879	60.7
25-29	101,402	78.4	51,804	56.9
30-34	41,387	82.5	29,621	64.1
35-39	34,990	87.1	18,422	67.9
40-44	39,976	93.6	10,685	68.3
45-49	36,580	94.6	8,301	67.9
50-54	38,518	92.4	2,706	100.0
55-59	27,137	98.6	1,379	100.0
60-64	9,021	100.0	-	-
65+	3,518	87.1	-	-
Total	726,734	75.1	387,762	55.5

Source: SIS Household Labor Force Survey, 1985, p.64.

Wages and Employment Conditions

19. Minimum wages are set at a minimum every two years by the Minimum Wage Board in the Ministry of Labor. In July 1991, the minimum monthly wage for workers aged 16 and over was set at TL801,000 ($195), or in net terms about TL502,911 ($123). As noted in Chapter II, data on wages which would permit analysis of the gender differential are not published. The only regular source of wage information in Turkey is the Social Insurance Institution. Table 13 shows the ratio of men's and women's wages in different sub-branches of the manufacturing industry in 1983 and 1988. The data, however, need to be treated cautiously since only 6% of the female labor force is covered by social security and the sample size in the sub-sectors can be extremely small. The data show considerable wage differences between the sexes with women on average, earning 20 to 40% less than men. The 1988 data suggest that women do relatively less well in, textiles, clothing, tobacco - all of which are relatively female-dominated sectors - and in, petroleum, electrical machinery, transportation and communication. They receive the highest relative pay in leather manufacturing, furniture and fabricated metals - which are relatively male-dominated sectors. Perhaps of greater interest, is the decline in the female/male wage ratio for almost all sectors - except leather manufacturing, furniture and fabricated metals between 1983 and 1988.

20. According to the Turkish Labor Code, the official working week in factories is forty-five hours, although there are exceptions. During the peak seasons, factories may resort to overtime work and employees are not always in a position to refuse working. Small firms which are difficult to regulate, when extending the working week, may or may not pay their workers for overtime work. In contrast, larger firms usually comply with regulations and pay overtime. The practice of shift work also depends on firm size and the nature of the business. During the 1980s, with increased production stemming to a large extent from increased capacity utilization, shift work increased. Both the legal environment and tradition work to minimize female shift work, thus closing off many sectors to their employment.

Child-Care Facilities

21. According to Turkish Labor regulations, work places employing between 100-150 women workers are required to establish nursing rooms and those employing more than 150, must have nursing rooms and creches for the care of children less than 6 years of age. However, the regulations do not appear to be enforced. According to available data from the Directorate General for Social Services and Child Protection Agency (SSCPA), in 1990 there were 262 creches and day-care centers run by workplaces (including all industrial and non-industrial establishments, both in the private and public sectors) and 17,321 children enrolled. In private factories there were 12 child-care centers with a capacity of 814 children. Simultaneously, there were 486 privately run child-care centers in Turkey with a capacity of 20,591. However, since these are costly, they are only available to middle class and/or professional women. Unlike in many other parts of the world, it does not appear in Turkey that within neighborhoods, families operate informal day-care facilities. Grandmothers or other female relatives appear, however, to play an important role in providing day-care. This suggests a serious shortage of appropriate child-care facilities in Turkey, which affects the employment of women in two ways: first, it may prevent women who want to work, from doing so; second, if women decide to work, they tend to look for work with reasonable access to day-care facilities.

TABLE 13: Average Daily Earnings of Female Employees as a Percentage of Male Employees by Manufacturing Subsectors in 1983 and in 1988 (Insured Persons)

Manufacturing Branches	Female Daily Earnings as % of Male Earnings		Females as % of Total Employees
	1983	1988	1988
Food	85.5	80.3	9.5
Beverages	94.7	89.3	7.8
Tobacco	100.6	73.3	41.2
Textile	99.8	66.8	29.7
Garments	109.4	75.4	27.3
Wood and wood products	109.2	104.2	0.3
Furniture	106.8	118.8	1.7
Paper	88.5	82.2	5.4
Printing, publish	110.1	100.2	9.6
Leather	79.8	117.3	8.8
Plastics	93.6	69.6	4.6
Chemicals	95.9	79.3	1.4
Petroleum - Coal	97.8	48.5	3.9
Non-metallic minerals	90.0	86.2	5.7
Metals	97.6	78.9	0.3
Fabricated metals	99.4	107.5	4.7
Machinery	102.4	88.4	4.8
Electrical machinery	92.1	69.4	1.7
Transportation & Communication	95.2	57.6	2.2
Other Manufacturing	99.8	69.3	2.4

Source: Annual Statistics Social Insurance Institution. 1983-1988.

Women's Employment in Rural Industries

22. In Turkey, rural industries are, for the most part, family or homebased enterprises. They include small factories and home and artisan workshops producing traditional manufactured goods and handicrafts. Rural industries are characterized by their small number of employees, high level of personal contact, single person management, use of indigenous raw materials, low level of output and scarcity of capital and credit. While significant regional variations can be observed in terms of forms and types of rural industries, the most common activities in which women are engaged are related to textiles: namely, carpet and rug weaving, handloom weaving of local textile (cotton and silk fabric) lace making, embroidery, crocheting, knitting (by hand and machine) tailoring and manufacturing souvenirs. There are also handicrafts which are performed only in certain regions such as the plaiting of golden bracelets along the Black Sea coast. In the absence of labor force data broken down by rural industries and gender, analysis of women's involvement in rural industries at the national level is not possible. Thus, the analysis here is based on existing case studies which focus on a single industry. For the most part these focus on textiles and, in particular, carpet weaving.

23. There are two important studies of carpet weaving, both unfortunately based on data from the late 1970s and early 1980s. According to Berik's estimation (1987), the number of carpet weavers grew from approximately 150,000 in 1958 to almost 600,000 in 1981. Ayata (1987) also maintains that at the end of the 1970s carpet weaving employed at least 500,000 persons. Nationwide, this would make carpet weaving the second most important activity of rural women after agriculture. In some regions, the intensity of carpet weaving is very high. For example, according to Ayata, in 1975 two thirds of the female population between 7 and 35 years of age was engaged in carpet weaving in Kayseri - one of the most prominent carpet weaving cities

24. According to these studies, female carpet weavers are young, generally between 15 and 20 years of age. They start weaving at a very early age (about six) and for the most part, are trained in the household alongside their relatives. A small proportion of women acquire their skill through state-run weaving courses (see below para. 35). Although weaving requires considerable skill and experience, it is not valued as such by either their household or the community. While well-to-do girls may weave a few pieces for their trousseau, for the most part, carpet weavers come from the lower-income households.

Wages and Working Conditions

25. Data on women's earnings in rural industries are based on case studies and isolated instances, but appear to be lower than in urban industries and below the minimum wage. Ayata found that women in 1977 earned a 65 TL daily wage on average from carpet weaving, compared to 120 TL daily for an unskilled construction worker. Berik, in 1983 found that carpet weavers earned on average, 488 TL as a daily wage, compared to 900 TL per day for women who worked in cotton harvesting. More recently in Ankara province in mid-1991, women were found to receive TL5,000 ($1.25) for knitting an intricate sweater - a minimum of 20 hours work. Similarly, in Konya in 1991 women weaving carpets for a cooperative (without middlemen) women received approximately TL270,000 ($65) for a carpet which takes about one month working 50-60 hours a week. The reasons for the low earnings of rural women, reflect both the nature of their work and status: specifically, their productivity is low (Ayata); there are no alternative sources of employment; regulations as to minimum wages and working conditions are difficult to enforce; and, reflecting the patriarchal structure of the household, the male members of the household generally set or negotiate the rates with the middlemen or employers and

receive the earnings. Whether they work at home or in a workshop, the wage earned by women tends to be seen as an additional income supplementing that of their husbands or fathers; for example, Berik found that the male relatives received the earnings directly in 70% of cases.

26. Activities related to handicrafts such as carpet weaving, handloom weaving of fabrics and knitting, regardless of the extent or scale of the work are considered almost as non-work, or as a part-time activity performed in spare time. In this context, the labor which women put into production is underestimated and undervaiued. This is particularly the case if they carry out the work at home.

27. The employment conditions faced by women in rural industries to a large extent reflect also the economic and management weaknesses of the rural industries. Whether homebased or small firms, the rural industries face a wide range of problems including, *inter alia,* timely availability of quality raw materials; inadequate marketing; poor communication among producers, distributors and retailers; lack of access to credit, economic and technical know-how and design assistance. As a result, workshops continue to be established which produce traditional goods, for which there is excess supply, leading to low profitability, low wages and poor working conditions.

Government Policies and Programs Relating to Women in Industry

28. As discussed in Chapter V, women were first recognized as a category requiring special consideration in Government plans and programs in the 1989 Annual Program for the Fifth Five-Year Plan, where in a newly created sub-section "Family, Women and Children" it was stated that the integration of women in the development process should be accelerated. In preparation for the 1989 Program, in 1988 an "Advisory Committee for Policies Directed Towards Women" had been set up in the State Planning Organization. Although the committee was short-lived, it contributed to establishing a women's perspective in SPO. In a background report the Committee concluded that women's increasing employment and participation in market activities were a positive step towards their integration to the economy but that with their employment other problems had surfaced which needed to be addressed, namely problems related to the changing social position of women; gender inequality; health and workplace related problems (SPO, 1988). Subsequently, in 1990 (see Chapter V) the General Directorate for the Status and Problems of Women was established to address the problems of women in general. To date, the Directorate has not, however, focussed on issues relating specifically to women in the industrial sector.

29. During the 1980s, there was a rapid growth in vocational/technical training in both public and private sector institutions. Currently, vocational/ technical training programs are offered by approximately 10 agencies. Those which address women specifically are discussed below. Data on enrollments for these programs and by gender, however, are not complete.

Ministry of Labor and the Turkish Employment Organization

30. The Turkish Employment Organization (IIBK) which is attached to the Ministry of Labor pays particular attention to the issues and problems related to women's employment and has initiated a number of vocational training courses in 26 regional branches to improve the qualifications of women since 1988. IIBK data for 1988-90 show that one-half of their courses offered were for women and that

women accounted for about 60% of all trainees.[15] The courses range from handicrafts to accounting, but according to IIBK records, the courses most preferred by women are carpet weaving, copper handcarving, glass staining, making leather clothing and handloom weaving of local fabrics. Concerned about the marketing of women's handicrafts, IIBK initiated in 1988 a pilot project for both the production and marketing of crocheted and embroidered materials of 400 women in the Mugla-Fethiye region.

Ministry of Education

31. The Ministry of Education offers vocational and technical educational programs for women within the formal and non-formal education systems (see Chapter IV). *Within the formal system* in the 1989-90 academic year, 31% of girls were in vocational and technical high schools (and 69% in general and religions high schools) and 39% of boys. There are two major concerns regarding girl's vocational education. One, the Girls' Vocational and Technical High Schools offer numerous courses of study, mostly related to activities which are already accepted as womanly skills (home economics, sewing, embroidery, quilt-making) and which do not, in general, equip them with skills which will increase their productive employment prospects. Two, there is also an issue of the demand for girls' vocational training. Between 1985-1990, the number of boys' vocational schools increased by 45% and the enrollments increased by 58%, whereas there was a 31% increase in the number of girls' vocational schools, but only a 15% increase in enrollments.

32. The *non-formal education system* in Turkey offers various educational and training courses to people of all ages. These courses are organized and directed by the General Directorate of Apprenticeship and Non-Formal Education, and are divided into three groups: literacy courses; vocational and general courses; industrial training and social-cultural courses. The vocational and industrial courses appear to be largely segregated by gender. Specifically, under the General Directorate of Apprenticeship and Non-Formal Education organize courses for apprentice candidates, apprentices and masters, to provide industry with middle-layer skilled workers. In the 1991-92 academic year, approximately 195,000 male students were trained in the 237 Apprenticeship Centers. To date, no girls are enrolled in these centers. Girls, however, appear to attend instead Applied Girl's Craft Schools; in 1991-92 approximately 60,000 girls enrolled in the 489 craft schools, compared to 256 boys in the 15 Applied Boy's Craft Schools. There appears also in the case of the craft schools to be a demand issue: between 1983-1991, the number of girls schools increased by 9% while enrollments increased by 3%. Simultaneously, the number of boys schools more than halved - from 34 to 15.

33. There are, in addition, two training projects offered by MOE worth noting:

- *Vocational Education for High School Graduates (LIMME Project).* Initiated in 1987 this project provides high school graduates, who are unable to enroll in higher education institutions, one to two year vocational education programs to increase their employment

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[15] Specifically:

No. of Courses Offered (% for women)			No. of Trainees (% women)	
1988	33	33	490	66
1989	103	34	3,986	67
1990	308	44	6,397	53
1991	334	30	5,474	53
Total	848	40	16,387	60

skills within both formal and non-formal education institutions. No data by gender are available for enrollments under this project. To date, the curricula is being tested in four pilot schools.

- *The "Producing Women" Project.* In 1991 the Ministry of Education adopted the position that women should not be confined to a narrow range of occupations. Accordingly, the Ministry initiated the "Producing Women" project to make women productive in their home. The focus of the project is to provide non-working women in Gecekondu areas with training in handicrafts that they can produce at home and to help them to market their products.

34. The gender segregation of both schools and training courses in both the formal and non-formal education system both constrains women's career choices and income potential. The elimination of such segregation is a major area for intervention to promote the participation of women.

Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs (MARA)

35. The Ministry has as one of its objectives the encouragement and development of rural handicrafts. With regard to women, the Ministry's focus has been on traditional weaving crafts. In one initiative, the Ministry organized carpet weaving courses in which young women were not only trained to weave, but to become instructors in village carpet weaving courses. In the mid-1980s, approximately 500 women a year graduated from these courses in eight cities, (Elazlg, Kars, Slvas, Mus, Içel, Isparta, Kastamonu, Bilecik, GOT, MARA, 1987). The Ministry also organizes mobile village courses to train women how to weave carpets; in 1985, 2,705 village women in 142 villages participated in these courses. Simultaneously, the Ministry has initiated programs to provide villagers with looms for carpet weaving and distributed carpet and rug patterns among the villagers.

36. Beyond these initiatives, MARA has no specific policies or programs to increase rural women's productive employment outside of activities provided by the Extension Services. As the Ministry primarily responsible for rural areas, a greater focus on generating productive employment opportunities for rural women is warranted.

Issues Regarding Women's Employment in Industry

Impact of Adjustment Policies on the Industrial Sector

37. Although there is evidence from other countries that the implementation of export-oriented industrialization policies contributes to a substitution of female workers for male workers, particularly in industrial employment (ISIS, 1985; Joekes, 1982, Anker and Hein, 1986), the available data on female employment in the industrial sector for Turkey is inconclusive on this issue but suggests that adjustment has not substantially contributed to female employment. The wage data presented in Table 11, which shows a significant decline in the female/male wage ratio for all but one sub-sector between 1983 and 1988, however, underlines the need for further research on the impact of adjustment and wages, in general. The breakdown of the manufacturing industry into its sub-sectors, which shows little substantive increase in female employment further substantiates this view (Table 4a). More generally, the data suggest that there has been little change in the distribution of female labor force within the sub-sectors

of the manufacturing industry since the 1950s, with food and textiles continuing to employ over 75% of women in the sector.

38. Although difficult to substantiate on a national level, recent studies on the impact of Turkey's export-oriented industrialization policies note the growing tendency towards home production (Ecevit, 1990; Çagatay and Berik, 1990; Lordoglu, 1990). Since the labor force surveys do not attempt to measure homebased work, this trend is difficult to substantiate. However, judging by the recent programs to support women's homebased work, (for instance, MOE, MARA, Halk Bank and the Ministry of Industry) it appears that the encouragement of homebased work is supported. An increase in home production during periods of adjustment would seem a likely response of families to preserve their real income levels and in particular in those sub-sectors of the manufacturing industry experiencing rapid growth and which lend themselves to home production, such as clothing and knitted goods. Home production is attractive to employers since, in general, homebased workers are cheaper than factory workers, less organized and unlikely to be protected by labor legislation. While women may appreciate the flexibility offered by homebased work, for those unable to find formal sector employment, it is the only means of obtaining any income.

39. While difficult to measure homebased work in official statistics because of its sporadic and hidden nature, it is important in determining the contribution of women to the household and the economy and to increasing women's visibility. Thus, it would be useful to modify the Labor Force Surveys (Chapter II) to attempt to measure the extent of homebased work and its conditions (hours, pay, etc.).

Influence of Social Attitudes and Perceptions

40. ***Attitude of Society Towards the Employment of Women.*** One of the striking features of female labor force participation in Turkey is their high participation in rural agricultural sectors and their low participation in urban industrial and services sectors (see Chapter II). In part, this reflects community acceptance of their work in agricultural activities such that their work outside the home is not questioned. In fact, working in the fields has long been an integral part of rural women's life. However in urban areas, patriarchal attitudes towards women's outside work and limited job opportunities in the urban centers contribute to restricting women to homebased work. As noted in Table 10, 50% of the female manufacturing labor force is under 25 years - reflecting both the preference of employers for younger women and the continuing tendency of women to withdraw from their labor force because of their roles as wives and mothers.

41. In Turkey, society sets limits to its approval of women's work outside the home. An occupation must have certain features to suit women, including a respectable and suitable atmosphere. Thus, white collar jobs are most preferred and service sector jobs are favored over industrial ones. Factory work or domestic service is approved only as a last resort in case of extreme hardship. However, for women with rural backgrounds and little schooling, there are few alternatives.

42. A suitable job for women as far as society is concerned must also not jeopardize her primary roles - as wife and mother. Thus, going out to work in an environment in which non-kin males are present, doing shift work and/or overtime affects both the respectability of the woman and the status of the man as provider. Being able "to keep the wife at home" raises a man's status whereas permitting her go out to work lowers it. In recent years however, adjustment policies and continuing inflation have been a modifying factor in lowering the disapproval shown with regard to the employment of women.

43. ***Employers' Attitudes Towards Women***. Studies show that employers generally consider women as lower cost employees (Ecevit, 1991), and, in addition women's economic and social status make them more desirable as employees. Certain qualities are consistently emphasized by employers in studies of Turkey's industrial sector as factors contributing to the use of female labor in labor-intensive assembly operations. Employers describe and define women as "more hardworking"; "more serious"; "more placid"; "more conscientious"; "less troublesome"; "less complaining"; "more obedient" and "more submissive". The argument that women are more suitable for assembly and routine type of work because of their "natural aptitudes", such as patience, is very widespread.

Impact of Technology on Women in the Industrial Sector

44. Internationally there is a growing concern about technological improvements in production and their effects on women in terms of declining job opportunities and displacement. In Turkey, the impact of technology on women's work in industry and their employment prospects has received little attention. While there have been studies addressing technological and structural change in some sub-sectors of the manufacturing industry, such as textiles and clothing, they do not address their gender implications (Duruiz and Yentürk-Çoban, 1988; Erbesler, 1987; Pazarcık and Turunç, 1984). There are several generally accepted tenants as to the gender impact of technological change. Namely, it is generally agreed that technological improvements affect men and women differently in terms of the tasks they perform and positions they hold; that improved technology tends to be associated more with male workers than women; and that when an activity becomes more productive through new technology, the traditional division of labor is often restructured to allow men to take on the more productive tasks within the industrial establishment. These issues need to be addressed in Turkey with a view, in particular, of forming judgements as to the likely employment and displacement consequences of technological improvements. Since women industrial workers are predominantly employed in the food, textiles and machinery sub-sectors, research could focus on these areas.

Conclusions and Areas of Intervention

45. Women's participation in the industrial sector could be enhanced and their conditions of work could be improved through the following measures:

Strengthening the Environment for Industrial Growth

46. Although not clearly indicated in the national labor statistics, sociologists and planners in Turkey stress that, in part, because of the consequences of adjustment, there is a growing orientation among women towards paid work. There also exists a trend to greater continuity in paid employment of women. With increasing education, the interest of women to work outside of the home will undoubtedly continue to grow, both in absolute terms and as a percentage of the female population of working age. The sub-sectors, however, in which women predominate - food and textiles - are unlikely to be significant sources of employment growth in the future. This calls not only for an opening up sub-sectors where hitherto women have been under-represented, but for an acceptance of women in training programs for these sub-sectors. This can be accomplished through the creation of employment-equity programs (Chapter II) - with Government taking the lead; a review of protective legislation and enforcement of existing regulations; dissemination of information to both employers and employees through the IIBK, Chambers of Commerce and the media; and directly, through training programs. With respect to training, it is especially important that the focus of women's training programs move away

from the traditional occupations towards those occupations that will increase in importance over the coming decade. In terms of the legal environment, the introduction of regulations to permit part-time and flexitime employment could also be beneficial.

47. The need to open up new activities to women is true not only of the urban but also the rural industries. In the rural areas, in particular, encouragement of economically viable industries and not just the traditional ones, is necessary. This entails not only the dissemination of information but assistance or training in basic business management skills, with the involvement of the training agencies (MOE, IIBK) and the Chambers of Commerce, Regional Development agencies, the local commercial banks and possibly by regional investment/employment incentives. Returning migrants and their families can provide a catalytic effect in this regard.

Improving the Position of Women in the Industrial Sector

48. As seen in Table 5, women are largely employed in the sector as production workers and are under-represented in technical, administrative and management positions. While continuing gains in educational attainment of women will strengthen their advancement, the opening up of training courses to women and their increased enrollment, in addition to policy interventions, such as "employment equity" programs are needed.

49. Data on wage differentials by gender are limited but are indicative of a significant gender gap. Efforts are needed to narrow the wage differential. Extension of existing legislation regarding working conditions to the informal sector and its enforcement in small enterprises would be an important step in reducing this differential. Also, efforts are needed to increase the proportion of women with social security coverage.

50. To assist women in finding and maintaining formal sector employment, the serious shortage in suitable and economic child care needs to be overcome. Working women and those who want to work should be given support, guidance and assistance with their child-caring responsibilities by local authorities and employers, but the solution lies with society at large. Investment incentives and tax credits may be useful first steps in establishing an appropriate private day-care industry. Similarly, enforcement of existing legislation requiring larger enterprises to establish nursing rooms and day-care facilities is needed.

Vocational and Technical Education and Training

51. Training in Turkey remains highly segregated by gender and is a major contributor to the process by which men and women are channelled into different occupations. Specifically, the training programs run by the Directorates General for Girls Vocational Education and Apprenticeship and Non-Formal Education, MARA and IIBK continue to direct women into traditional occupations with limited career prospects. A review of gender specific education and training policies and the institutions involved therein is essential to alleviate those constraints. Training programs need to be designed to gradually reverse the current segregation in the labor market and also need to meet the special "life-cycle" needs of working women, in both urban and rural areas. In particular women's life cycle participation patterns, as noted in Chapter II above, are very different from men's. Specifically, women's age-participation profile shows a distinct M-shaped reflecting their peak participation both before and after bearing children. Training programs need both to anticipate this life-cycle pattern and to be able to accommodate

the needs of women re-entering the labor force. Simultaneously, there is a need to inform employers (through the media, regional IIBK branches, etc.) of the advantages of hiring re-entry women.

Home Production

52. While the data are not conclusive, it appears that over the past decade, homebased work has become a significant form of employment for women in Turkey. The vulnerability of homebased workers, by virtue of their isolation, is well-documented internationally. Consideration should be given to the introduction and enforcement of legislation to ensure homebased workers the same employment benefits as other groups in the labor force. Simultaneously, means of increasing their collective strengthens are needed, such as skill training, dissemination of information and support mechanisms to facilitate homebased workers to establish cooperatives or to become self-employed. While there is a need to protect existing homebased workers, the rational for promoting and perpetuating home production is unclear.

Encouraging Self-Employment and Entrepreneurship

53. Given the small proportion of businesses owned or managed by women, encouragement and promotion of entrepreneurial activities for women in Turkey is important. The environment, however, is not supportive of women entrepreneurs, even for women from the middle class with appropriate skills and ability who, faced with discouraging attitudes of family and relatives, and legal, financial and cultural barriers, find the constraints difficult to overcome. Young women, who are about to graduate from technical and vocational schools are one of the most suitable groups to be encouraged for small entrepreneurship. Training courses could be designed to include basic skills in business management, marketing and financing, and counselling centers for small businesses established in regional chambers of commerce.

ANNEX 5

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

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ANNEX 5

WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

Introduction

1. Women have long had an important role in Turkish agriculture. Their, contribution, however, is not well recognized. Besides case studies, primarily sociological or anthropological, there has been no attempt to assess the contribution of women to agriculture. Thus, this annex presents a first such attempt. The wide variety of climatic and topographical conditions in Turkey lead to significant regional variation in agriculture, which in turn leads to a differential involvement of women in the sector. To gauge the regional variation in the contribution of women to agriculture, since data on female participation by climatic regions are not available, regional female labor force participation was determined by province and aggregated (Table 1). To the extent that society, and women themselves, perceive of their work as wifely duty rather than as economic contribution, the data understate their participation.

TABLE 1: Trends in Female Participation in Agriculture by Regions, 1970-1985

	% of females in regional agricultural labor force		
	1970	1985	difference
Aegean	49.21	51.21	+ 2.00
Black Sea	54.67	58.12	+ 3.45
Central Anatolia	51.73	54.42	+ 2.69
Eastern Anatolia	50.88	53.96	+ 3.08
Marmara-Thrace	48.75	50.53	+ 1.78
Mediterranean	44.77	51.03	+ 6.26
Southeastern Anatolia	47.94	51.07	+ 3.13
Average	49.71	52.91	+ 3.20

Source: 1970 and 1985 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, SIS.

2. The increased participation of women in agriculture in the various regions can be attributed to three factors: male migration, and changes in cropping patterns and labor-intensity. For instance, Table 2 shows some changes in the cropping patterns and agricultural population in three provinces in the priority regions.

TABLE 2: Changes in Cropping Patterns and Agricultural Population in Three Priority Provinces, 1970-85.

	Erzurum	Kars	Diyarbakir
		(%)	
Area sown to sugarbeet (ha)	166.5	212	-
Area sown to sunflower (ha)	705.0	-	-
Area sown to cotton (ha)	-	-	789
Area sown to vegetables (ha)	-	-	255
Females in agr. population	22.0	16.45	52.00
Males in agr. population	0.94	10.48	30.87
Total agricultural population	11.58	13.66	41.2

Sources: 1970 and 1985 Agricultural Structure and Production, SIS.
1970 and 1985 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, SIS.

The data indicate significant changes in cropping patterns in these provinces. Specifically, while mechanization has occurred, it has mostly benefitted traditional crops such as wheat and barley. Thus, as production of these industrial crops increased, the demand for women's input in the non-mechanized tasks has increased.

3. The growth in employment of women in agriculture in the Mediterranean area is surprising. Changes recorded in Adana, which is one of the most fertile areas in the country, provides a good example (Table 3). Here, the introduction of new crops, which are not highly mechanized has increased the demand for female labor. This contrasts with the experience in the Marmara-Thrace region, which has the lowest growth in female employment. Data for Tekirdag (Table 4), where the traditional fallow-wheat cropping pattern, has been replaced by a highly mechanized sunflower-wheat sequence supports this view. This is explained in large part by rapid mechanization in the region, which greatly reduced the demand for labor.

TABLE 3: Changes in Cropping Patterns and Agricultural Population in Adana, 1970-85

	(%)
Area sown to maize	8.2
Area sown to cotton	8.2
Area sown to vegetable	31.2
Females in agr. population	31.0
Males in agr. population	22.0
Total agricultural population	36.0

Sources: 1970 and 1985 Agricultural Structure and Production, SIS.
1970 and 1985 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, SIS.

TABLE 4: Changes in Cropping Patterns, Mechanization and Agricultural Population in Tekirdag, 1970-85.

	(%)	
Area sown to sunflower	12.0	
Area sown to vegetables	4.9	
No of tractors	327	
No of cultivators	1232	
No of seed drills	3118	
Females in agr. population	-1.3	
Males in agr. population		-8.0
Total agricultural population	-4.9	

Sources: 1970 and 1985 Agricultural Structure and Production, SIS.
1970 and 1985 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, SIS.

Characteristics of Women in Agriculture

4. The characteristics of women in the agricultural labor force by age, education and employment status are briefly examined below. With respect to age, Table 5 indicates that compared to men, women in agriculture start to work at earlier ages. In younger age groups, the male participation is lower in the rural areas, since for high school education, teenagers have to go either to urban cities or to boarding schools and for this boys are given more opportunities (Table 6). Military service is another factor that reduces the involvement of boys in agriculture in the 15-24 age group. In the older age groups, the situation again differs by gender. After 50 years of age, fewer women are engaged in agriculture. As they get older, women are not able to carry out the heavy agricultural work like seeding, weeding, hoeing, hand harvesting and milking. However, since men are dealing more with the mechanized operations, even as they get older they continue to work in the field.

TABLE 5: Employment Rate in Agriculture by Age Groups and Gender, 1990

Age Groups	Employment rate Male	Female
	(%)	
12-14	4.60	5.83
15-19	13.28	18.25
20-24	10.18	11.86
25-29	9.63	9.98
30-34	8.43	9.12
35-39	8.51	9.01
40-44	7.33	7.53
45-49	7.40	7.69
50-54	8.10	7.56
55-59	8.75	6.93
60-64	7.36	3.94
65+	6.44	2.30
TOTAL	100.00	100.00

Source: 1990 Household Labor Force Survey, April, SIS.

TABLE 6: High School Enrollment in Rural Population Aged 12-24, 1990

Education Status	Proportion of 12-24 years old Male	Female
	(%)	
Junior high school	70.23	29.77
Vocational junior high school	73.13	26.87
High school	55.25	44.75
Vocational high school	74.47	25.53

Source: 1990 Household Labor Force Survey, April, SIS.

5. Compared to other sectors, agriculture employs a higher proportion of illiterate workers. Although the situation is changing, on average three quarters of the illiterate males and almost all of the illiterate females in the labor force are engaged in agriculture (Table 7). Table 7 also shows that as the education level increases, both genders prefer to work in other sectors. The educational level of women in agriculture, however, has increased rapidly as shown by the reduction in gender illiteracy rates in Table 8 below. Nonetheless, there remains a significant educational gap between men and women in rural areas. It is observed that demand for primary school diploma increases with the increasing tendency to work in other sectors. However, while men with diploma tend to leave agriculture, women even with diploma usually continue to work in the sector.

TABLE 7: Literacy Status in Sectors by Gender, 1970-1985

Sectors	Male				Female			
	Agricultural Sector		Other Sectors		Agricultural Sector		Other Sectors	
	1970	1985	1970	1985	1970	1985	1970	1985
	(%)							
Illiterate	77.95	73.70	22.05	26.30	95.26	97.19	4.74	2.81
Literate without diploma	64.94	68.63	35.06	31.37	87.51	94.51	12.49	5.49
Primary school graduate	43.20	41.40	56.80	58.60	81.63	88.47	18.37	11.53
High school graduate *	7.34	14.09	92.66	85.91	5.69	16.75	94.13	83.25
Higher education	2.95	2.01	97.05	97.99	29.59	1.66	70.41	98.34
School of graduation unknown	40.21	5.22	59.79	94.78	53.57	3.60	46.43	96.40
Other	-	42.75	-	57.25	-	83.50	-	16.50

*Junior high school, high school and equivalent vocational schools
Source: 1970 and 1985 Census of Population, Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, SIS.

TABLE 8: Educational Level of Agricultural Population by Gender, 1970-1985

	Male		Female	
	1970	1985	1970	1985
	(%)			
Illiterate	43.16	20.41	74.61	43.57
Literate without diploma	18.01	11.67	6.32	8.96
Primary school graduate	37.14	61.50	18.00	35.01
High school graduate *	1.04	6.17	0.18	1.57
Higher education	0.10	0.23	0.29	0.05
School of graduation unknown	0.55	0.00	0.60	0.00
Other	-	0.02	-	10.84
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

*Junior high school, high school and equivalent vocational schools
Source: 1970 and 1985 Census of Population. Social and Economic Characteristics of Population, SIS.

Employment Status of Women in Agriculture

6. Women's work in traditional rural activities is generally unpaid and is not considered "work" for it is, rather, a total life style. It is not differentiated as to locality or time (several types of work may be done in the same place and at the same time, such as food production and child care) nor does it involve specialization or formal training. Thus, in censuses and field interviews, when asked if they work, women often answer "no". Underestimation of women's work also derives from social values which assign the bread-winning provider role to men. Unpaid family workers are most common in the agricultural sector (Table 9) and almost all of the women working as unpaid family workers are employed in agriculture. Table 9 also indicates that self-employment is higher in agriculture compared to other sectors and increasing. Casual employees are also higher in the agricultural sector among females.

TABLE 9: Employment Status by Sectors and Gender 1988-1990

Employment Status	Male						Female					
	Agriculture Sector			Other Sectors			Agriculture Sector			Other Sectors		
	1988	1989	1990	1988	1989	1990	1988	1989	1990	1988	1989	1990
	(%)											
Regular employee	7.19	6.47	9.07	92.81	93.52	90.93	8.10	10.51	12.70	91.90	89.49	87.30
Casual employee	32.97	27.50	27.85	67.03	72.50	72.15	87.15	75.88	66.78	12.85	24.12	33.22
Employer	30.10	35.62	25.85	9.90	64.38	74.15	49.95	66.82	100.00	50.05	33.18	00.00
Self employed	81.11	81.56	84.52	18.93	18.44	15.48	85.55	83.47	90.07	14.45	16.53	9.93
Unpaid family worker	91.58	93.01	92.36	8.42	6.99	7.64	99.19	99.04	99.37	0.81	0.69	0.63

Source: 1988, 1989, 1990 Household Labor Force Surveys, SIS.

7. According to the April 1990 Household Labor Force Survey, 8% of those employed in agriculture are seeking another job. Among these, 87% are male and 13% are female. Calculations indicate that 70% of the total employed population seeking alternative employment are engaged in agriculture. The most frequent reasons for seeking alternative employment are insufficient salary for males and dissatisfaction for females (Table 10).

TABLE 10: Reasons for Agricultural Workers to Seek Another Job, 1990.

	Male	Female
	(%)	
Insufficient salary	40.14	10.91
Not satisfied with the job	34.10	57.43
Not working in his/her usual occupation	2.93	4.31
Workplace is far away	1.22	-
Others	21.61	27.35
TOTAL	100.00	100.00

Source: 1990 Household Labor Force Survey, April, SIS.

8. Men and women reflect their frustrations with agriculture in the occupations that they consider suitable for their children. Results of a survey study carried out in 42 villages of Turkey indicate that only 5% of fathers engaged in agriculture indicated that they hoped their sons would take

up farming. For daughters only 3% of fathers recommended a job in agriculture (Sarpturk, 1990). Survey results of a study carried out in Erzurum indicate that 32% of the women responded that if a non-farm job was available they would be willing to work (Erturk, 1988). The reasons for not wanting to work for the 68% who answered "no" indicate that women are quite realistic is assessing the conditions affecting their lives (Table 11).

TABLE 11: Reasons Given by Women Who Would Not Want to Work in a Non-Farm Job, 1986 (9)

	% of women
Too old	29.5
Economically well off	12.9
Husband won't allow	16.6
Socially unacceptable	6.2
Already much work	17.6
Ill	3.3
Uneducated	9.0
Doesn't know	4.8

Source: Erturk, 1988.

9. Changes in attitudes are slowly occurring that support women working outside of the household in rural areas. For instance, in a recent study (Basaran, 1984)) the responses of the rural population to the question "Is it proper for a married woman to work in an income providing job?" were 58% positive (Table 12). The idea was less accepted by males.

TABLE 12: Attitudes Toward Working Married Women in Rural Society, Manisa, 1984 (2)

	Male	Female	Total
		(%)	
No comment	0.0	1.0	0.5
Yes	38.4	53.1	58.4
No	60.6	44.9	39 4
Other	1.0	1.0	1.7

Source: Basaran, 1984

Wages

5.10. In the public sector, minimum wage is applied. However, in the private sector, workers are not necessarily paid the minimum wage. Daily wages in different parts of the country collected from Provincial Agricultural Directorates are summarized in Table 13.

TABLE 13: Daily Wages Paid to Agricultural Workers in Various Provinces, 1990

	Daily wage (1000 TL/day), August 1990	
	female	male
Tekirdag	20-25	30-35
Istanbul (Yalova)	30	40 up to 70
Manisa	20-25	up to 50
Antalya	20-25	up to 50
Nersin	40	50
Adana	26	26 up to 100
Konya	25	30-80
Nevsehir (Derinkuyu)	25	35-50
Eskisehir	20	30-50
Tokat	20	30-50
Sivas	15-30	25-50
Erzincan	15-22	15-22
Erzurum	20	25-35
Elazig	20	30
Malatya	17	30
Urfa	10-15	10-15
Diyarbakir	15-20	25-30
Samsun	20-25	25-30

Source: Provincial Agricultural Directorates.

Social Insurance

5.11. Social services in Turkey are being carried out by three institutions: the Public Servants Retirement Fund, the Social Insurance Institution (SII) and Bag-Kur (social insurance for the self employed). In agriculture, services are provided by the last two agencies. Table 14 indicates the improvement in the number of insured persons.

TABLE 14: Number of Persons Insured by SII and Average Daily Earnings in Agriculture by Gender 1986, 1990

	No. of insured persons		Average daily earnings (TL)
	1986	1990	1990
Agriculture and animal husbandry			
Total	23,755	26,819	29,137
Male	21,714	24,453	29,685
Female	2,041	2,366	23,907
Forestry			
Total	27,136	24,873	28,757
Male	24,741	33,220	28,912
Female	2,395	1,653	25,621
Fishery			
Total	304	1,102	23,709
Male	302	996	24,276
Female	2	106	17,767
Agricultural Sector			
Total	51,195	62,794	
Male	46,757	58,669	
Female	4,438	4,125	

Source: For 1990 data: Social Insurance Yearbook, SII.

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Table 14 shows a 25% increase in insurance coverage for men. While positive improvements occurred also for women in agriculture, animal husbandry and fishery, overall there is a decrease of about 7% due to the decrease in forestry.

Actual Hours Worked

5.12. Working hours in agriculture vary depending on various factors, such as, ecological conditions, cropping patterns, technology, size of holding, number of plots owned, distance between plots, time of year, level of skill of the individuals and the number of persons working and the type of operation. Actual hours worked within the agricultural sector are summarized in Table 15. Data indicate that for females the most common category is 17-35 hours/week followed by 60-71 hours/week. For men 60-71 and 50-59 hours/week are the most common.

TABLE 15: Actual Hours Worked in Agriculture by Gender, 1990

Actual hours worked	Male	Female
	(%)	
1-16	2.51	4.62
17-35	17.84	29.79
36-39	1.25	0.74
40	10.40	11.51
41-49	11.78	12.06
50-59	20.66	19.77
60-71	25.91	16.94
72+	6.78	2.66
Persons not at work	2.87	1.91
TOTAL	100.00	100.00

Source: 1990 Household Labor Force Survey (Rural), SIS.

The time spent by women in their various activities depends on the size of the household, size of the farm, cropping patterns, agricultural potential of the region, age and health status of the women and the income level of the family. Data collected from villages in Cukurova villages are given in Table 16. It reveals that 69% of the women allocate at least one hour per day for livestock throughout the year. In peak season, 69% of the women work in their own holdings for 5 hours per day and 9% of them, work for other holdings at least 7 hours per day in peak seasons.

TABLE 16: Average Hours Worked in a Year, Cukurova 1990

Activities	% of Women	Average No. of Days p.a.	hours/day
Housework	100	360	3.8
Agricultural work in the family farm	69	15	4.9
Agricultural work outside of the family farm	9	44	7.4
Animal husbandry	69	340	1.1

Source: Sarpturk, 1990

Characteristics of the Agriculture Sector

Structure of Sector

5.13. The variety of topographic and climatic conditions lead to important regional differences in agricultural production and permit a wide range of crops to be grown under rainfed and irrigated conditions. In general, moving inland from the coastal areas and toward the eastern part of the country, the terrain becomes mountainous with high plateaus which also account for a cold winter climate. The coastal areas account for 50% of total agricultural production, primarily horticultural and industrial crops and animal husbandry. In Central Anatolia, where production is carried out mostly under dryland conditions, the main crops are small grains, sugarbeet, pulses and fruits. In Eastern Anatolia, field crops and horticulture are common in the valleys where arable lands are located and in the hilly areas, livestock and forage crop production are carried out. Southeastern Anatolia produces primarily cereals, pulses, pistachios and vineyards.

5.14. Agriculture remains the major source of employment for both men and women in Turkey. Since 1950 the share of the labor force engaged in agriculture has declined but agriculture still employs almost half of the labor force. Almost two-thirds of Turkey's agricultural land is owned by the state, village communities or other public institutions. According to the results of the last (1980) Agricultural Census, the majority (90%) of farms are owner-operated. With the population growth, the farmlands continue to be divided; in 1980 less than 10% of farms were in one piece. In the same year, the average number of parcels per holding was 6.4 and the average size of each parcel was 1 ha. Mixed farming (crop production and livestock production) is the predominant system of agricultural operations in Turkey, with 86% of small and 60% of large holdings engaged in mixed farming.

5.15. The relative importance of the subsectors to sector income have remained unchanged in recent years. According to 1989 data (Talim, 1991), crop production constitutes 55% of total agricultural production, followed by livestock (33%), forestry (7%) and fishery (5%). Cereals, particularly wheat and barley have always been the most important crops in the Turkish economy. They occupy 75% of the area sown to field crops. The major pulses (lentils, chickpeas) occupy an area of about 11%. Industrial crops (primarily, cotton, sugarbeet and tobacco) covers 7% of the total area. Oil crops and tubers constitute 6% and 2% respectively. Hazelnuts, pistachios, sunflower seeds, tea, and fruits and vegetables are also important. However, Turkey is behind many of its competitors in crop yields even though it has a comparative advantage in the production of many crops.

5.16. Livestock is important in Turkey with some 15 million head of cattle and buffalo, 44 million sheep, 17 million goats and about 64 million poultry. The livestock sector contributes about 33% of agricultural GDP and 14% of agricultural exports. In lower income areas, livestock herds are maintained under low input/low output conditions, with much of the pastures and rangelands degraded. Fattening and processing operations are concentrated around major population centers, primarily in the central and western provinces. Turkey's milk yield per cow and beef carcass are similar to those in Central Asia's grazing based regions and well below those in Eastern European countries of similar income level. However, in recent years exotic cattle have been imported to increase milk production. The results of this program are mixed, with problems arising from an inadequate supply of high quality animal feed and a lack of appropriate animal husbandry practices.

5.17. About one fourth of the country is forested, of which over 50% is degraded or unproductive due, in part, to arson and illegal grazing. 99.9% of forest assets belong to the State and 0.1% to the private sector. Of the wood produced, a sizeable portion (70%) is used as firewood and 30% as industrial wood. About 17,000 villages with a population of 9.4 million reside within or adjacent to the forests and rely on the forest land for fuel grazing and the collection of browse for stall feeding. Both the livestock and forestry subsectors have considerable potential for the development of women's participation.

Homesteading

5.18. In general, homestead farming dominates Turkish agriculture. The most common type of tenure is small land ownership with many of the land holdings too small to provide economically viable units. According to the 1980 Agricultural Census, 62% of homesteads own 5 hectares or less. The distribution of households and land ownership by farm size is unequal with over 60% of households cultivating around 20% of the area and 5% of households cultivating 30-40% of the area (Kasnakoglu, 1990). There are significant differences in landholding patterns among regions. According to the 1980 Agricultural Census, 30% of the land is cultivated by 3% of farmers in Southeastern Anatolia and 11% of farmers in the Black Sea Region. Simultaneously, 50% of farmers cultivate 8% of the land in Southeastern Anatolia and 20% in the Black Sea Region (Teklioglu, 1984).

5.19. Over 45% of income in rural areas is earned directly from agriculture. As farm size and income increase, income generated from agricultural production decreases (Kasnakoglu, 1990. Home production is an important component of disposable income in agriculture, amounting to over 20% of the total and considerably more in lower income groups. This observation is consistent with the marketing ratios for wheat and barley: farms with 2 ha or less sell only 7% of their wheat and 5% of their barley, compared to 41% and 23% for farms with 10-20 ha and 76% and 65% for farms over 1000 ha. Most small farms have livestock both for domestic consumption and cash income (cheese, yogurt, butter).

Women's Involvement in Agriculture

5.20. In the regions where specialized agriculture is carried out, women's involvement is changing depending on the level of mechanization. For example in mechanized cereal production in Thrace, Central Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia, women are withdrawing. In large holdings, women remain mostly within the household and it is considered inappropriate for a woman to work outside the home. The labor needs of such farms is generally met through contractual arrangements with wage-labor (Sirman, 1991; Erturk, 1991). In small holdings, women are employed as seasonal workers and for

animal husbandry (mainly milking, cleaning) and food processing (yogurt, cheese, butter, bulgur). In the areas where intensive agriculture is less mechanized, women undertake labor intensive operations (hoeing, weeding and harvesting). The level of income is a major determinant of women's workload. Extensive use of female labor in agriculture is found among the landless, those with marginal land and petty commodity production groups.

5.21. In certain areas of Northern and Eastern Anatolia, due to the migration of men, women have more responsibility. At the initial stage of migration (20-25 years ago), the wives who remained, suffered considerably. However, over the years remittances sent by their husbands allowed these women to retreat from agricultural production and alleviated the burdens of house chores. Today they may exert considerable control over the day-to-day management of the homestead. With a relatively steady non-farm income they are able to hire labor and invest in farm machinery (Sirman, 1991; Erturk, 1991). In situations where the husband is away seasonally, the absent men either dictate decisions or authority is delegated to the extended kinship network.

Division of Work by Gender

5.22. There is no rigorous gender distinction in terms of agricultural tasks. Overall, considerable variation is found by region and by crop. However, there are some operations handled only by men, such as pruning, grafting, chemical spraying. Shortage of skilled labor in these activities are met by involving kin, friends and/or employing an outsider, rather than by women in the family. In general, mechanized operations are considered as men's work. Therefore, men's work is usually seasonal since soil preparation, seeding, fertilization, spraying and harvesting are more often performed by machinery at certain times of the cropping season. Women usually, together with children, provide intensive non-mechanized labor and labor assistance required by most mechanical operations. Women provide regular labor input during the cropping season (weeding, hoeing) and in peak seasons increase their contributions. Recently, however, men's monopoly of mechanical operations has began to be challenged. Women in increasing numbers are enrolling in training courses on mechanization and tractor driving organized by the Ministry of Agriculture. For example, in Manisa almost 100 women completed the courses and received certificates and driving licenses in 1991. Also, in a village in Bolu in 1988, where the husbands mostly work as truck drivers on the international routes, the women who take care of the potato crop came together and applied to the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture for driving licenses for tractors (TOK, 1988). After completing a three week training courses on maintenance and operation of tractors and other machines and equipment they were licensed.

Crop Production

5.23. *Small Grains:* in large-scale production women's involvement is very limited. Production is highly mechanized and almost every component of the crop management package is handled by men. However, in the smaller farms women are involved in harvesting. Where land size and topography is not suitable for combined harvester, crops are harvested by men and women using sickles. This is particularly common in Eastern Anatolia, Eastern Black Sea, and parts of the Central Anatolian Plateau (Yozgat, Cankiri, Corum, Tokat).

Rice: women's involvement in rice production varies by region. For example, in Thrace (one of the main production areas) where most of the operations are mechanized, female involvement is negligible, however, elsewhere women are extensively involved.

Pulses: in small fields, lentil and chickpea production is highly labor intensive. Weeding and harvesting is done by hand and almost entirely by women. However, in case of labor shortages, men are involved. With the introduction of food legumes into crop rotation under dryland conditions of Central Anatolia, seasonal job opportunities have arisen. During harvest time, women migrate from the southeastern provinces, mainly from Adiyaman to Yozgat, Cankiri, and Corum. This is particularly common for market-oriented holdings; elsewhere this operation is taken care of by village women. Hand harvested crops are carried to the village and threshed and cleaned by men and women in communal areas. In Southeastern Anatolia where production is market-oriented and large-scale, women do not participate.

Cotton: presents a special case. Seasonal wage labor is employed by the large landholders: every year thousands of families come to Adana in April and October for hoeing and harvesting. According to the results of a study (Sarpturk, 1990) carried out by University of Cukurova, around 117,000 workers travel to the area from seven provinces mainly from Urfa. Another study (Soysal, 1986) conducted in the region indicated that females account for over 50% of labor in hoeing and harvesting.

Sunflower: production used to employ a lot of female labor, however,
rapid mechanization ended women's involvement in the main production areas (Thrace and Marmara). In some areas of the country where mechanization is limited, like Eastern Anatolia, women are extensively involved in hoeing, weeding and harvesting.

Potatoes: women's involvement is very high. Men using tractors prepare the soil, apply chemicals and during harvesting, uproot the crop by tractor-drawn equipment. The rest of the operations, like preparation of seed, planting, hoeing and harvesting are done by women.

Sugarbeet: mechanized operations (soil preparation, seeding, spraying and fertilization are handled by men) and manual operations (weeding, hoeing) by women. At harvest, men uproot the crop which is then collected and prepared for market by the women. Transportation and marketing are the men's responsibility.

Tobacco: is primarily produced on holdings of less than 10 ha. All the family members contribute to the production. Men prepare the soil and women plant, weed and hoe. Harvesting is a shared operation, with all members of the family working together. Men carry the leaves to the village, women string and make them ready for drying. Men, however, handle the processing (drying, baling) and marketing.

Corn: in the Mediterranean and Aegean Regions, production is semi-mechanized. Mechanized operations like tilling, seeding, spraying and harvesting are done by men, but manual work (hoeing, weeding) is performed by women. In mountainous areas where topography does not allow mechanization, all operations are done by hand tools (including soil preparation and seeding) and all components of the crop management package are handled by women. In the plains where corn production is highly mechanized, men undertake most operations.

Tea: is produced only in the Eastern part of the Black Sea Coast, where women's involvement is very high in almost all agricultural activities. Women perform almost all operations, except processing and marketing, which remain a male prerogative. In the case of the establishment of new tea plantations (which requires Government approval), men together with women prepare the soil and plant the crop.

Hazelnut: usually all members of the family work together in their production. Planting and pruning is men's work and fertilization and harvesting women's work. However, since the crop has to be collected in a very short period of the time, men also get involved and labor may also have to be hired from other production areas because of migration.

Poppy: like tobacco, poppies are usually produced in small farms in the western transitional zone of Central Anatolia. Almost all operations are performed by women except seedbed preparation, seeding and beating of the capsules. Women thin the crop, cleave the capsules, collect the gum and harvest the capsules.

Vegetable Production: is considered as primarily women's work. Except for spraying and soil preparation in large plots and greenhouses in the coastal areas, women's participation in vegetable production has increased remarkably. This is also the case in cut flower and ornamental plant production. In the Mediterranean (mainly Antalya) and South Marmara (Yalova) regions, production is market-oriented and handled by large companies for export. In large greenhouses, women are employed to carry out almost all tasks, except spraying.

Viticulture: some operations are highly specialized (like pruning) and these are performed generally by men. Hoeing is usually shared. Harvesting is done mainly by women.

Fruit Production: in the modern orchards, most operations are carried out by men although for harvesting, sorting and packing, women are preferred. In packing houses, women are employed in large numbers. In Eastern Anatolia (Malatya and Elazig), drying of apricots is handled by women. In small-scale production, women are involved in all operations including marketing of the surplus production. In the Mediterranean region, planting is generally shared but harvesting and packing are carried out mostly by women.

Livestock and Commercial Production

5.24. *Sheep/Cattle/Poultry:* in the homesteads, women take care of poultry, sheep, goats and cattle. Milking is invariably women's work, as is cleaning of the stalls and animals. Women are usually responsible for the intensive care of young stock, pregnant and lactating females. The contribution of men increases with distance from the homestead. Women are responsible for feeding, grazing and animals near their household and close to the village. Children also assist with the animals. However, grazing in rangelands and meadows located further from the village (2-3 km) is men's responsibility. In small-scale poultry production women carry out all operations. But in market-oriented, higher technology farms, men assume responsibility, with women sometimes hired for manual tasks (filling the feeders and watering the birds).

5.25. *Sericulture:* is considered as women's work. Men's involvement is limited to the "fifth in-star stage" which is the peak period in term of realing (feeding) the worms. At this stage men help women in collecting and shredding the leaves. Marketing is the men's job although in some areas (e.g. Bursa), the income is given to the women. Following 3-4 months of drying, women do the reeling, twisting and dying.

5.26. *Apiculture:* women's involvement in production is traditionally limited. However, an increasing number of women are involved, including in mobile apiculture.

Food Processing

5.27. In rural areas food is routinely prepared at home, primarily for domestic consumption but also for the market. Data collected in Cukurova (Sarpturk, 1990) indicate that approximately 88% of women process food at home for family consumption, 6% to share with relatives and 6% for marketing. The economic contribution of women by processing food at home is much higher than perceived. The Cukurova data indicate that the reasons for processing food at home varies, but the main factor is cost (see Table 17).

TABLE 17: Reasons for Processing Food at Home, Cukurova, 1990

Reasons	% of women
Cheaper	128.8
Fresher & cleaner	23.1
Cheaper & fresher & cleaner	21.1
Cheaper & fresher & cleaner & marketable	15.4
Readily available at home	5.8
Fresher & cleaner & to utilize the available raw material	5.8
TOTAL	100.0

Source: Sarptuck, 1990

The Cukurova study also presents a good illustration of the variety of foods prepared at home (see Table 18).

TABLE 18: Variety of Food Prepared by Rural Women in Cukurova, 1990

Food processed	% of women preparing the food
Bread	96.1
Bulgur	96.1
Paste (tomato, chili)	86.5
Pickles	76.9
Yogurt	75.0
Dried vegetables	55.8
Jam/jelly	42.3
Cheese	40.4
Brined grape leaves	34.6
Butter	30.8
Spaghetti	19.2
Dried soup	9.6
Canned vegetables	7.7

5.28. The use of farm products by women for domestic consumption in Turkey has a significant impact on the adoption of improved varieties and technology on the farm. For example, the adoption by farmers of a high yielding wheat variety (Lancer), introduced to Eastern Anatolia in the late seventies, took many years because of its unsuitability for a special homemade bread. Therefore, instead of at least doubling the yield and providing extra production for the market, farmers preferred to stay at the

subsistence level and make the type of bread that they like to eat using the low yielding local variety. Over time, however, a solution was found. In a small part of their field, farmers grow the local variety for domestic use and in the rest of the field, high yielding varieties for the market. A similar experience occurred with potato production in the Central Plateau. For example, in Yozgat farmers were reluctant to use fertilizers and irrigation, although aware of their advantages, because of the shorter life of fertilized and irrigated potatoes in storage. Overtime they could not resist the production increases provided by the new technology. Therefore, they use modern techniques for market production and traditional methods for domestic consumption.

Marketing

5.29. In many regions, and particularly in the priority regions, due to socio-cultural factors, women's involvement in marketing is considered as improper. However, in the central and western parts of the country women are involved locally in small-scale marketing of vegetables and fruits. In the marketing of livestock and their products, there is a marked gender division of labor. Animals or meat are marketed by men and women sell poultry products and processed milk products (cheese, butter and milk) in small-scale markets. In market-oriented large holdings these are also marketed by men. In large-scale marketing, women's involvement varies depending on the region.

Issues Relating to Women in MARA

5.30. In the reorganization of MARA in August 1991, the Directorate General of Forestry became a separate Ministry of Forestry and agricultural research, which had been carried out by five directorates was placed under a new Directorate of Agricultural Research. To date, however, research has not been carried out to support or strengthen women's contribution to agricultural production.

Extension Service

5.31. Extension activities are mainly carried out by the "Farmer's Training and Extension Section" which is one of six sections under the Provincial Directorate of Agriculture. In this section, subject matter specialists (SMS's) are responsible for transferring information on eight main areas, of which home economics is one area. Although it is widely known that rural women participate in all areas of agriculture, only the home economists contact village women systematically. There is no policy in the Ministry for the inclusion of rural women in the transfer of agricultural information. Notwithstanding women's contribution to agriculture, the home economics program is the only one addressing women, and then primarily in the context of traditional housewifely duties. MARA, however, has recently introduced a pilot program to retrain home economists as field agents to work with women.

5.32. The main purpose of the home economics program is to increase the living standards of rural families. This is achieved by transferring new information and techniques to rural women and by improving their skills. There are three (Ankara, Trabzon, Siirt) home economics vocational high schools under MARA. Each year around 75 home economists graduate from these four-year schools and are employed by the Ministry. By the end of 1990, there were 1,336 home economists working in 73 provinces. The distribution by regions is given in Table 19, which shows significant regional disparities. The home economics programs are organized and planned by the General Directorate of Organization and Support and the Farmer's Training and Extension Section is responsible for the implementation of the

home economics program, which was first introduced in 1954. Detailed information on these activities is given in Table 20.

TABLE 19: Distribution of Home Economics Agents by Region, 1990

	(%)
Aegean	17.4
Black Sea	15.3
Central Anatolia	12.6
Eastern Anatolia	9.0
Marmara-Thrace	20.0
Mediterranean	18.3
Southeastern Anatolia	7.4
TOTAL	100.0

Source: General Directorate of Organization and Support, MARA.

TABLE 20: Extension Activities in Home Economics, 1960-1991

Year	Number of home economists	Number of provinces	Number of courses	Number of trainees
1960-1969	238	60	3,518	78,210
1970-1979	875	66	31,100	462,000
1980	900	67	7,000	102,000
1987	1,200	67	6,719	90,000
1988	1,300	67	5,440	101,102
1989	1,500	67	6,883	103,638
1990	1,500	73	6,609	103,374
1991*	1,336	73	1,670	28,238

*Only 3 months of implementation.
Source: General Directorate of Organization and Support, MARA.

5.33. Home economics courses given in the villages focus on the following subjects: food processing, family diet, family health and hygiene, childcare, family planning, home decoration and management, sewing and handicrafts. In addition, and depending on regional agricultural activities and the local agricultural directorate, some information maybe given to women on subjects like poultry, vegetable and fruit production, sericulture, floriculture and animal husbandry (for example, Manisa in 1990).

Women in MARA

5.34. For the past decade, approximately 25% of the students of agriculture and forestry have been women, most of whom are employed by MARA since private sector employment of agricultural graduates is limited. Although data are not available, approximately 20% of the professional staff of MARA are estimated to be women, primarily in Ankara and the Provincial Directorates in the major cities. Nonetheless, very few women hold management positions.

Rural Development Projects

5.35. Integrated rural development projects were first initiated in Turkey in the late seventies with support from international organizations (FAO, The World Bank, IFAD). Although a number of governmental agencies are involved in the projects, the main implementing agency is MARA. The main objective of these projects is to improve existing rural infrastructure, modernize agriculture by transferring technology and increase the income of rural households. Although the role of women in rural areas is recognized, women are largely excluded in these projects. The issue of women in rural areas in Turkey was first raised in a symposium on "Women's Participation in the Villages of Erzurum" organized by FAO in 1987. Since this symposium was held toward the end of the Erzurum Rural Development Project, a women's component was not provided for under the project. The subsequent Mus/Bingol Project included rural women in the target group and has a handicraft subproject. While it is early to comment on the contribution of the project to women, it is felt that the emphasis given to rural women in the preparation phase was not reflected in the philosophy of the project. The most recent rural development project Yozgat Rural Development Project, however, introduces for the first time in Turkey an integrated approach. This provides for organization at the village level of functional groups (depending on the activity, this could consist of men or women or both) and the selection of female leaders to mobilize women's participation.

ANNEX 6

CREDIT SURVEY

1. It is widely held in Turkey that women have limited access to credit. However, in the absence of bank data by gender, the view is difficult to substantiate, particularly since the laws relating to banking and credit regulations appear essentially gender neutral. Specifically, following the repeal of Article 159 of the Civil Code in 1990, by which a woman required her husband's permission to work and obtain credit for her business, no legislative constraints to women's access are known. A review of credit facilities offered by the formal financial institutions suggested, however, that few institutions offer lines of credit suited to small entrepreneurs, which could account for the small number of Turkish women in the self-employed or entrepreneurial ranks.

2. In the absence of gender-specific data on credit and savings, it was decided to undertake a small survey designed to determine primarily whether any gender-specific data could be obtained that would shed light on women's access to credit. The survey is the first attempt that we are aware of in Turkey to obtain such data. Notwithstanding the limited nature of the survey imposed by time and resource constraints, the data clearly support the view that women's access to credit in Turkey is severely limited. The data also warrants further analysis, either within Turkey or elsewhere, particularly if lines of credit more suitable to small entrepreneurs are to be pursued.

Survey Design

3. In light of the time and resource constraints (4 SW) imposed by the WID report, the survey was addressed only to the banks. While the failure to address the demand for credit is a concern, it was felt that in the absence of any data, and as has proven to be the case, that a quick survey could provide useful information for the WID report and for a possible Micro-enterprise project component, which would entail an in-depth survey of small enterprise access to credit by gender and would necessarily address both the demand for and supply of credit. Simultaneously with the design of the survey, departmental supervision missions for existing credit projects began requesting information and interviewing female borrowers.[86]/

4. The six banks selected for the survey included those that are the most likely to provide credit to small and medium entrepreneurs, namely: Ziraat (the Agricultural Bank), Halk (the People's Bank) and Vakiflar, which are state banks and together account for just over 80% of all accounts with the state banks; Isbank - the largest private bank in Turkey; and TSKB (Industrial Development Bank of Turkey) and SYKB (Industrial Investment Credit Bank), both of which are privately-owned investment banks. The surveys were sent to 340 branches of the banks, with branches selected to provide national coverage.[87]/ The response rate was approximately 80%.

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[86]/ Under the SMI project, as of July 1991, 6 female entrepreneurs have been granted loans out of a total of approximately 175 loans.

[87]/ All 131 Halk Bank branches and all 86 Ziraat branches responded; and 50 of 60 Vakiflar branches responded. No responses were received from Isbank and TSKB. Surveys were sent only to the head offices of TSKB and SYKB.

CREDIT SURVEY

surprisingly, women accounted for more than 60% of all homebased loans. In Vakiflar Bank, women also accounted for a low proportion of loans for manufacturing but a significantly higher proportion of retail loans, concentrated primarily in the Developed Region.

TABLE 1: Ziraat Bank - Women's Share of Total Deposits and Loans for Turkey and the SPO Regions

SPO Regions	Developed	Normal	Normal Priority	Second Priority	First Priority	Turkey
No. of Branches	9	27	18	23	9	86
Women's Share of Deposits (%)	26.8	27.5	30.4	22.4	21.6	26.3
Women as % of Depositors	27.3	24.4	35.5	21.4	23.9	26.1
Ave. Deposit Size (TL m.)						
Men	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3
Women	1.2	1.6	1.1	1.3	1.1	1.3
Women's Share of Total Loans (%)	2.1	3.5	3.4	2.1	2.1	2.8
Women as % of All Borrowers	4.4	4.3	2.7	2.7	1.7	3.3
Average Loan Size (TL m.)						
Men	6.2	6.4	4.3	4.7	1.9	5.1
Women	2.9	5.2	5.5	3.6	2.4	4.3

5. Data was sought on the status of deposits, loans (broken down by working capital and investment credits and sector), repayment rates and rejection rates. All data were requested for men, women and both. The survey also requested information on factors that the banks perceived to affect women's credit access (namely, collateral, availability of female loan officers, women's "need" for credit) and as to measures that could improve women's access. In view of the different loan types offered by Ziraat Bank, a separate survey was designed requesting information on loans by maturity, purpose (agricultural crop) and whether the loan was in-kind or in-cash. In addition, information was sought from Ziraat Bank on the involvement of men and women in specific crops and tasks.

Survey Results

6. Overall, the data supports the view that women's access to credit is severely limited. Annex Tables 1-6 below summarize the data relating to women's share of deposits on loans for Ziraat, Halk and Vakiflar banks for the SPO development regions[1]/ and Turkey overall. Detailed survey results by the SPO regions for the four banks and by the three major metropolitan areas (Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir) for Halk and Vakiflar are available on request. The data for Ziraat Bank appears overall to be reasonably robust. Data for Halk Bank and Vakiflar are less complete for the first and second priority regions in several instances and responses for these two banks regarding repayment and rejection rates by gender are, in general, incomplete.

7. Tables 1-3 show that women account for a small proportion of total loans and that there is a marked imbalance between women's share of deposits and loans. In *Ziraat Bank* (Table 1), women account for approximately 26% of all deposits and accounts in the branches surveyed and approximately 3% of all loans and borrowers. Women's share of both deposits and loans is significantly lower in the First and Second Priority Regions. Nationwide, the average size of loans made by Ziraat Bank is 80% of that of loans to men. In *Halk Bank*, women account for 38% of all deposits (with the Developed Region revealing a number of female depositors with exceptionally large deposits) and 12% of accounts. Eliminating the Developed Region, there is a greater similarity in share of deposits and accounts. In terms of loans, women account nationally for approximately 7% of loans committed and 4% of all borrowers. The average size of loans made to women by Halk Bank is significantly lower than that to men (TL13.8 million compared to TL22.2 million for men). In *Vakiflar*, women account for approximately 10% of all deposits and 13% of accounts, and for 6% of all loans and 3% of borrowers. The share of loans made to women by Vakiflar is extremely low in the priority regions.

8. Tables 4-6 summarize the maturity and purpose of loans made by Ziraat by gender. In terms of maturity, women received proportionately more short- and medium-term credits than long-term with short defined as less than 1 year, medium-term as 1 to 3 years and longer, as more than 3 years. Women also received a slightly higher proportion of cash loans than in-kind loans. In terms of loan purpose, women borrowed primarily for cash crops, fruits and vegetables and poultry.

9. The breakdown of loans for Halk Bank by purpose reveals a very low proportion of loans (1%) to women for manufacturing and only slightly higher proportion for retail purposes. Not

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1/ Priority provinces for development were first identified in 1968 by SPO. Subsequently in 1974, SPO began to rank provinces on various indicators of social and economic development. Currently, 14 provinces with 11% of the total population are designated as First Priority and 16 provinces with 15% of the population designated as Second Priority. These receive preferential treatment in various Government programs.

TABLE 3: Vakiflar Bank - Women's Share of Total Deposits and Loans for Turkey and The SPO Development Regions

SPO Regions	Developed	Normal	Normal Priority	Second Priority	First Priority	Turkey
No. of Branches	13	17	7	7	3	47
Women's Share of Deposit (%)	14.4	7.9	7.1	11.6	10.5	10.1
Women as % of Depositors	15.3	13.4	12.7	12.5	4.0	13.2
Average Deposit Size (TL m.)						
Men	3.3	3.4	2.2	1.5	1.8	2.6
Women	3.0	2.4	1.2	1.4	5.1	2.3
Women's Share of Loans (%)	8.2	1.4	1.5	0.2	0.8	6.2
Women as % of All Borrowers	7.3	1.7	10.8	0.1	0.4	3.2
Average Loan Size (TL m.)						
Men	241.6	19.1	8.5	13.3	9.5	56.3
Women	294.6	25.7	1.4	25.0	20.0	136.5
Women's Share of Manufacturing Loans (%)	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Women as % of Manufacturing Borrowers	1.9	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5
Average Manufacturing Loan (TL m.)						
Men	1506.4	26.1	24.8	28.4	3.6	137.9
Women	44.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1
Women's Share of Retail Loans (%)	21.7	0.3	0.0	0.5	1.1	14.9
Women as % of Retail Borrowers	12.2	1.4	0.0	0.2	0.4	1.3
Average Retail Loan (TL m.)						
Men	1127.1	21.3	27.4	8.4	8.0	70.5
Women	2257.8	14.6	0.0	25.0	20.0	1136.8

TABLE 2: Halk Bank - Women's Share of Total Deposits and Loans for Turkey and The SPO Development Regions

SPO Regions	Developed	Normal	Normal Priority	Second Priority	First Priority	Turkey
No. of Branches	53	35	14	18	10	130
Women's Share of Deposits (%)	48.5	11.6	6.1	12.6	5.2	38.5
Women as % of Depositors	16.9	9.6	1.4	11.0	8.2	12.5
Average Deposit Size (TL m.)						
Men	5.1	1.7	1.1	1.6	1.2	2.8
Women	24.8[1]	2.3	0.9	1.9	1.1	13.1
Women's Share of Total Loans (%)	2.5	3.3	1.6	10.1	0.8	7.3
Women as % of All Borrowers	5.9	2.9	2.8	1.8	1.2	4.0
Average Loan Size (TL m.)						
Men	32.1	14.1	13.1	-	15.4	22.2
Women	13.9	16.2	6.4	-	9.7	13.8
Women's Share of Manufacturing Loans (%)	1.5	0.8	0.5	0.05	0.0	0.9
Women as % of All Manufacturing Borrowers	2.5	1.5	0.6	1.5	0.0	1.8
Average Manufacturing Loan Size (TL m.)						
Men	74.9	15.9	23.1	-	16.9	42.6
Women	48.4	8.5	16.7	15.0	0.0	30.9
Women's Share of Retail Loans (%)	2.2	2.8	2.2	12.9	0.0	9.6
Women as % of all Retail Borrowers	3.4	1.3	1.5	0.7	0.0	2.1
Average Retail Loan Size (TL m.)						
Men	22.1	14.8	11.4	-	12.7	17.5
Women	14.3	29.8	16.8	-	0.0	18.4
Women's Share of Homebased Loans (%)	82.9	10.9	0.0	77.5	100.0	61.3
Women as % of All Homebased Borrowers	74.7	16.7	0.0	23.1	100.0	44.0
Homebased Loan Size (TL m.)						
Men	3.0	[2]	0.0	0.6	0.0	1.3
Women	5.3	2.4	0.0	7.2	13.0	5.3

[1] Eliminating the Developed Region, the average women's deposit is TL1.8m.

[2] According to the survey the gender of 89% of homebased loan recipients was unknown in the Normal Region. The loan size for this category of borrower was TL4 million.

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TABLE 4: Ziraat Bank - Women's Share of Loans by Maturity

SPO Regions	Developed	Normal	Normal Priority	Second Priority	First Priority	Turkey
No. of Branches	9	27	18	23	9	86
Short Term						
Women's Share (%)	1.4	3.8	3.9	1.9	1.2	2.7
Women as % of Borrowers	3.0	5.4	3.2	3.0	1.4	3.5
Average Loan (TL m.)						
Men	6.7	4.4	3.9	3.8	1.6	4.0
Women	2.9	3.1	4.8	2.4	1.4	3.1
Medium Term						
Women's Share (%)	1.0	2.5	53.4	-	11.4	5.7
Women as % of Borrowers	3.6	5.5	5.2	-	8.8	3.4
Average Loan (TL m.)						
Men	17.4	9.7	4.7	4.9	4.5	8.2
Women	3.2	4.2	98.4	1.0	6.0	12.3
Long Term						
Women's Share (%)	2.4	1.5	2.0	2.5	0.9	1.9
Women as % of Borrowers	1.0	2.5	1.2	2.1	0.6	1.8
Average Loan (TL m.)						
Men	6.9	9.5	7.0	9.4	5.3	8.4
Women	13.1	5.8	11.7	11.1	8.0	8.7

Notes: Less than 1%.

TABLE 5: Ziraat Bank: Women's Share of Loans by Type

SPO Regions	Developed	Normal	Normal Priority	Second Priority	First Priority	Turkey
No. of Branches	9	27	18	23	9	86
Cash Loans						
Women's Share of Loans (%)	1.8	3.8	4.4	2.4	3.0	3.1
Women as % of Borrowers	4.6	5.3	3.2	3.2	2.7	4.0
Average Loan Size (TL m.)						
Men	7.1	6.7	3.5	5.0	1.9	5.3
Women	2.7	4.7	5.0	3.7	2.6	4.1
In-kind Loans						
Women's Share of Loans (%)	2.8	2.8	2.4	1.7	1.0	2.3
Women as % of Borrowers	4.0	2.5	2.0	2.2	1.0	2.4
Average Loan Size						
Men	4.8	6.0	5.6	4.4	1.9	4.8
Women	3.4	6.8	6.8	3.3	1.8	4.7

TABLE 6: Ziraat Bank - Women as Percent of Borrowers by Loan Purpose

	Women as % of All Borrowers	% of All Loans to Crop
Food Crops	2.5	31.6
Cash Crops	12.7	31.4
Poultry	3.2	1.7
Handicrafts	0.0	0.05
Agro-Industry	0.0	0.1
Forestry/Fishing	0.1	0.4
Vegetables/Fruits	7.0	5.1
Livestock	1.0	29.6

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